TAMIL CIVILIZATION

Quarterly Research Journal of the Tamil University

Vol. 7 No. 2-4 June, Sep., Dec., 1989

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Tamil Civilization
Vol. 7 No. 2- 4

THE VANISHING TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY FISHING SYSTEM IN KARNATAKA

R. Sivakumar & G. Victor Rajamanickam

Introduction

Karnataka, being one of the coastal states of India, plays an important role in the fisheries development and has a conspicuous place in the country's fisheries map. It has a shelf area of 25,000sq.kms and a coastline of 270kms accounting 1/22 of the country's coastline. This state has two coastal districts namely Dakshin Kannada and Uttar Kannada. Nearly 1.13 lakh fishermen are involved in fishing and the state's contribution to the total marine fish production in the country is of the order of 9.0% (Bhimachar, 1951; Banerji, 1958; Anon, 1981). The profession of fishing is a traditional gift. This skill is transferred from generation to generation. The present study is the outcome of data collected from among fishermen and mariners of Karnataka coast during 1988-90. It is an attempt to cover in an indepth manner the traditional skill and experience of the people who are associated with a unique fishing system called community fishing system, which is not known to be present elsewhere.

Kinds of Fishing System

Fishing system of the Karnataka coast can be classified into two different categories Viz, 1. Traditional fishing system and 2. Modern fishing system.

Traditional Fishing System

Traditional fishing system is considered to be the best system among the fishing systems existing in the Karnataka region. Traditional fishing methods are:

a. Encircling the fish shoal
b. Laying the net to the bottom of the sea
c. Laying the net in the mid-waters
d. Spreading the net at the surface water
e. Throwing a bay shaped net to catch fish shoal.

These different methods of fishery exploitations are pursued either by a small group or by one individual or by an owner of a fishing vessel.

Community Fishing System

It is interesting to note that the community/group fishing system is still surviving in the South Konkan

coast of Karnataka. According to the views of local fishermen of South Konkan coast, the community fishing system has been adopted right from their forefathers, who have adopted this system from the portugal traders and subsequent colonialists. While organising the community/group fishing, considerable amount of investment is required in the initial stages. To overcome that situation, a community/ group of members come forward and share the burden equally. By sharing the burden successfully, they manage the situation and start their new pattern of joint effort in fishing for their livelihood. In this pattern, the whole fishing community, which shares the burden, is having equal right on the income and loss. · In the later course of this fishing system, partnership system, has been introduced by the wealthy fishermen of South Konkan coast. They maintain two smaller crafts for the purpose of estimation of fishes available in their limits. This type of assessment survey is being carried out to minimise the losses in fishing and the wastage of human power. If the outcome of the assessment is positive, the team decides to go for fishing and launches the main craft. This craft is huge in size when compared to other traditional local boats but it is manned by rowing. It is called paDava and pa:NDi respectively in South and North Kanara coasts. The average size of the craft is 58 feet from stem to stem, at halfway 14 feet and 7 to 8 feet in height. This vessel is operated by manual power only i.e., by oars. This craft is built by planks with keel (in the form of dug-out vessel), stem and stern posts. Ribs are also used in order to strengthen the boat. While fishing, the experienced person acts as a tandal who measures depth, observes stars and gives proper instruction to others. According to tandal's instructions 4 to 5 persons are involved in the fishing activities (Fig 1).

After the craft is launched, they keep one end of the net in craft and start releasing the other end of the net into the sea. This type of laying the net in the sea resembles the crescent shape (Fig. 2). Then, they start to pull the net from both the end towards the shore (Fig. 3). So, the fishes are not having any chance to escape from the net. If the catch is more they keep the net with fishes in the sea under the natural condition. They lay another net in the out skirts of the earlier one to avoid the spillage of fishes from the inner net. They keep the fishes in the same condition within the sea water itself to a maximum period of 15 days. Such possibility avoids the urgent need of cold storage. According to the market needs, they are catching the fishes. Once the fishes are trapped in the big net kept encircled in the coast itself, the fishes are removed from that net by using another small net which can be operated by single man.The mesh size of the net differs depending on the species size, which is available in the particular area. The rampani is a classical example of an erstwhile widely prevalent traditional gear that has suffered a setback in the face of

mechanization. The fishing season in Karnataka begins in September and extends upto May. By the community fishing the oil sardine, mackerel, catfishes, croakers, seer fishes and penaeid prawns are caught. The crafts commonly used by traditional fishermen for community fishing are rampans boats, dugout canoes (fig.4) and outrigger boats (Fig 5) (Hornell, 1920). Among these non-mechanized crafts, dugout canoes dominate, forming 64% of the total non-mechanized craft, and are evenly distributed in both districts. However, the plank-built canoes (Fig. 6,7) are found mainly in Uttar Kannada district while the number of plank-built canoes in Dakshin Kannada is insignificant. Popular gear used by artisanal fishermen include rampani, small shore seines, gill nets, drift nets and hooks and lines. During favourable season they are operating the nets according to the current and wind direction. Commonly, fishes move in antidirection of the current. So, to catch fishes they lay the net across the current. When adopting such type of fishing method, they attach some colourful floats with the net. During the night time, they keep some light to indicate the net laid along certain line.

Merits of Community Fishing System:

The involvement of group of people in fishing operations has more advantages than disadvantages. The following are some of the benefits of community fishing system.

1. Each member actively participates in the fishing activities and expresses suggestions and modifications for a better yield. As a result of collective efforts of fishermen with their rich experience very good catches are obtained.

2. The total amount earned, from the selling of fishes is shared equally by all members without any partiality. At times of lean seasons, the maintenance expenses of crafts, gears become less as the amount spent for repairing is shared by all.

3. This system promotes companionship among the fishermen. They forget their differences, difficulties, castes and worries by totally devoting their attention for fishing.

4. The amount of work rested with an individual fisherman is reduced by the co-ordinated and co-operative efforts of fisherman.

5. In this system the fishermens' life is more secure than in other system. In the other system fishermen are often left helplessly in mid-sea after having fatal encounters with sharks. In the end the injured fishermen succumb to injury. But, in the community fishing system the injured person is taken back to the shore immediately and his injuries are treated.

6. The breeding ground for a larvae is not disturbed by this fishing system. Some people are of the view that the offshore fishing is beneficial in several ways. But, according to people of old generation, the modern offshore fishing by mechanised trawler and trawlnet affects the traditional fishing in a large scale (Dharmaraja & Jacob, 1980; Ramamurthy, 1972). Though the traditional fishermen of present day go beyond 25 fathoms for fishing, the catch/unit effort are found to be low, whereas before the advent of modernisation, they used to go only upto 10 fathoms to meet their livelihood. In this case, the change of fishing methods is warranted to avoid losses. The modern offshore fishing system has spoiled the nearshore fishing and seabed condition. The trawling method disturbs the breeding ground of fishes ultimately resulting in lesser yield. The community fishing is noticed now only in some pockets of the South Konkan coast. But unfortunately this system of community fishing has reached a stage of complete ruinage at present. This must have been in zenith in those regions in the earlier days probably before the year 1940, and kept the fire burning in many families.

Causes for Waning of Community Fishing System

1. Unwillingness, mutual mistrust and frequent infighting over small matters are said to be the foremost reasons for the waning of this method.

2. Non-availability of forest produce like timber, to build very strong community fishing crafts like pa:NDi has made them to look for lucrative but cost intensive fishing methods.

3. In this system fishing operations are restricted upto 25 fathoms because of the prevalence of unfavourable environments for continuing community fishing system beyond that depth. The less availability of fishes in the nearshore areas has heavily affected the flourishing fishing operation system.

4. The advent of mechanisation in the recent years has affected the traditional fishing methods. By mechanised boats like trawlers they go for fishing even beyond 100 fathoms, which is totally inaccessible for the fishermen adopting traditional methods.

5. Another advantage of mechanisation over traditional fishing system is the provision of good storage facilities with preservatives and powerful, long lasting trawlnets. With all the facilities available in the mechanised boats, it is possible to continue the fishing practices even for a month or two without any interruptions. But in community fishing system,

staying for more than 10 days is not feasible due to lack of food and other convenient facilities.

Conclusion

Although fishing has been a traditional occupation of the inhabitants on the coastal belt of Karnataka since time immemorial, no concerted effort is made to expand the traditional activity into a real industry in order to exploit the resources fully. Nevertheless, in recent years several technological innovations in fishing have been implemented resulting in the improvement of marine fish production, the mechanized crafts and gears slowly and steadily replacing the traditional non-mechanized types. Marine fish production in Karnataka over the last two decades has shown wide fluctuations; a trend often determined by two pelagic species, oil sardine *(Sardinella longiceps)* and mackerel concentrated in the nearshore area leaving much of the inshore area within 50m depth zone underexploited and the area beyond this relatively unexploited. To maintain the renewable fishery resources and breeding ground in the nearshore areas, this declining community fishing system should be revived.

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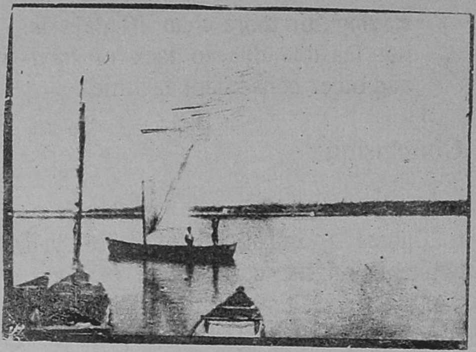
Fig. 1. Fishermen engaged in fishing



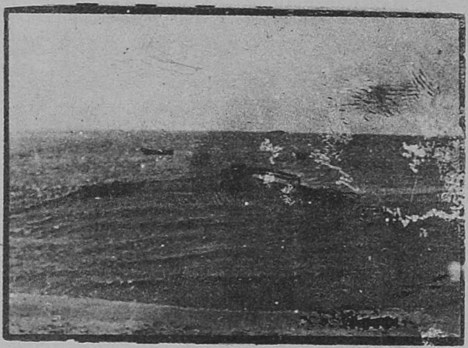


Fig. 2. The net is being laid

Fig. 3. Retrieving the net

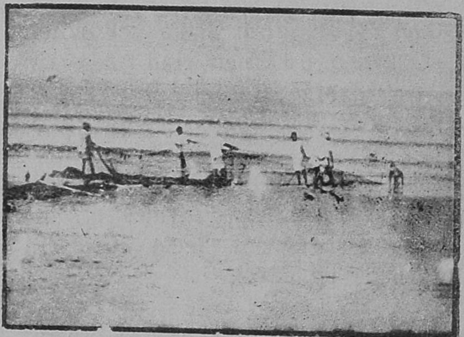


Fig. 4. Dugout without outrigger

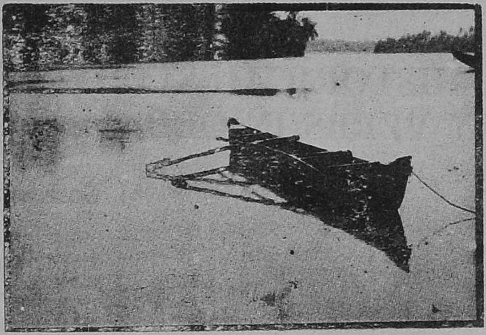


Fig. 5. Dugout with outrigger

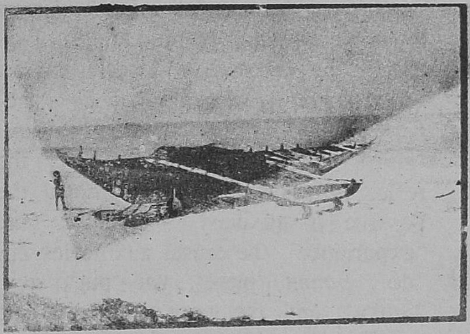


Fig. 6. Plank built boat with keel

Fig. 7. Plank built boat without keel

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A HISTORICAL STUDY OF AUXILIARY VERBS IN OLD TAMIL

M. Suseela

Auxiliary verbs are those verbs which added with the main verbs express some more additional meanings. In old Tamil, we find the beginning stage of this auxiliary verb system. However, we are able to find in the OT texts the modal auxiliaries *Ventum* 'want', *venta* 'do'nt want' *kutum* 'possible' *kutatu* 'should not' *akum* 'may' the explicative auxiliaries *cel* 'go', *i* 'give'. *ari* 'know', '*kan*' 'see' *kattu* 'show', *itu* 'put' kotu 'give' arul 'give', vitu 'leave', *oli* 'go', the reflexive auxiliary verb *kol* 'have' the passive auxiliary verb *patu* 'experience', the causal auxiliaries *cey* 'do', *pannu* 'make', *vai* 'put', *akku* 'make', and the tense auxiliary verb *iru* 'be' though in very low frequency.

1. Modal Auxiliaries

These auxiliaries indicate necessity, probability etc. of the incidence indicated by the main verb. The main feature of these auxiliary verbs is that these verbs do not have gender, number and tense markers. And also these verbs do not have the imperative form.

1.1. ventum

This verb indicates the necessity of the incidence noted by the main verb. Though Tolkappiyam, the earliest extant Tamil grammar, does not mention anything about auxiliary verbs it mentions about this word *ventum* as follows : -

itu ceyal ventum ennun kilavi
iruvayi nilaiyam porutta kumme
tanpa tanum piran palanum

(Tol. Col. cut. 243)

In OT in most of the instances this is found after verbal nouns.

tunkutal purintanar namarena
ankavarkku

ariyak kural ventum toli
Akam 382.7-8

"Some one should inform him
that our people are sleeping"

tirumaru marpani yrulal
ventum PAR 1. 36

"O Lord, loved by Lakshmi, you
should grace"

evvuyirk kayinu mirankal
ventum MM 23 - 79

"We should pity whatever soul
may be"

Only in four instances this is found after the infinitive (PR1, KL1, MM2)

Valara Ventum avale yenrum
PR 339.11

"Always she should grow"

Ketta levan ceyya ventumo
marrika

avankanni yanro atu
KL 107. 13-14

"If one asks what to do? Is it not his garland?"

1.2. Venta

This states that the incidence indicated by the main verb is not necessary. This too in most of the instances occurs after the verbal nouns.

nantutu molintanam vitalventa
.... KL 28.22

"It is not necessary to send
message"

This is also for the first time found in PR after infinitive. In OT this is found in six instances after infinitive. (PR3, TK2, MM1)

varunta venta valkavan rale
PR101.10

"Do'nt worry, may long
live be!"

Kalaver valkkaiya ruruun
katuntuyar

ilaveyt tolayk kituvena venta
MM 23. 126-127

"It is not necessary to say to you, young lady, the suffering which they who use the plough of stealing attain".

1.3. kutum

This verb indicates the possibility of the occurrence of the incidence stated by the main verb. Out of 13 instances, in 12 instances this occurs after verbal nouns.

.... avarvarin

yanuyir valtal kutu mannay
AIN 213. 4-5

"If he comes I can live"

ariya tatiyan kitutalun kutum
CIL 10.89

"You may put foot here without knowing"

For the first time in Cilappatikaram this occurs after infinitive in one instances.

kutankaiyi nontu kollavun kutum
CIL 10.83

"One can take with palms"

1.4. kutatu

Though this is opposite verb to *kutum* this does not negate the possibility of the occurrences of an incidence, instead it prohibits an action.

In OT this is found in only two instances after the verbal noun.

naccal kutatu peruma . . . . .
KL 8.19
"One should not desire, Lord"

1.5. akum

This verb indicates the possibility. This is found only in two instances after the verbal noun (KLI, TKI)

Valamiyo vaikalun ceyalakum --
KL 15.24
"We may earn whenever we want"

This is the earlier structure of the modern Tamil form *patikalam* 'one may read' *ceyyalam* 'one may do' etc.

2. Explicative auxiliaries

These verbs add some more additional expressions to the meanings by the main verbs.

2.1. cel

As equal to the modern Tamil auxiliary verb *po* (as in *utaintu po* 'break down') the verb *cel* is found in one instance in OT.

ninru nilaiyiyar nin nanmi nillatu

pataac celiiyarnin pakaivar mine PR 24, 24-25

"May everlast your 'birthstar'! May die away your enemies 'birth star'!

It can be mentioned here that to the verb *pataac celiiyar* the commentators write the commentary as *pattup-povtaka.* However, the frequency of this verb does not increase afterwards. It disappears from the language.

2.2. i

This verb is equal to the modern Tamil Literary verb *arul* 'grace'. In late Old Tamil and Middle Tamil the verb *arul* increases in the frequency and the verb *i* disappears from the language. The main difference between these two verbs are while the former comes only in positive sentences the latter comes both in positive and negative sentences.

ancuvarak katunkural payirra time NR 83-9

"Do'nt shout as to fear"

arancey timo varulvey yoyena
PR 145.7

"You, who desire grace, do justice"

The decrease in the frequency of this verb in course of time can be seen in the following chart.

PT	AIN	AK	NR	KR	PR
1	10	8	8	2	3
PP	PAR	KL	TK	CIL	MM
1	-	28	-	2	-

2.3. ari

As equal to the modern Tamil auxiliary verb *par* as in *ninattuppar* 'think out' in OT we find the verb *ari* 'know' in two instances in AK.

ulliyu maritiro emmena .....
AK 39.2
"Have you remembered us ...."

2.4. kan

This is also equal to the above verb. This is found in three instances in KL.

ivalaic collatik kanpen takaittu
KL 56. 13
"I will talk with her and see"

2.5. kattu

This is found in only one instance in Cilappatikaram.

Katciyur kari katiya kuralicaittuk kattum polum.

CIL 12-13-4

"In the woods a black bird in a harsh voice gave warning of disaster"

2.6. itu

This is in usage in modern period also in literary Tamil. In OT at first this is found in low frequency and slowly increases later on.

PT	AIN	AK	NR	KR	CIL
--	--	2	2	--	5
PR	PP	PAR	KL	TK	MM
6	1	-	8	3	17

anivarai marunkin aituvalam titta
maniyer totta maiya renal
NR. 344.1 -2

"The cols grown thick and b r like the trunk of a pachyderm in h scenic slopes"

nimittam vayttitina llatu . ..
CIL 16.1 78
"Only when the time comes"

Konilai tirintitir konilai tiriyin
MM 7.83
"Should royal sceptres be planets go away"

2.8. Kotu

In Modern Tamil this is considered as affective auxiliary ve. This is found only in three instances in OT (KRL, CIL 2)

tanantanai yayinem illuyttuk kotumo
KR 354

"If you leave me drop us off at our house"

talaivanai vanor tamararan kutip
palartolu pattinikkuk kattik kotutta
nilaiyonru patutum yam

CIL 24.21.6-8

"We shall sing the incident that the
divine beings showed the husband
to his wife who is worshipped by all"

.9. arul

At first having appeared only in ne or two instances this verb is ound to increase slowly.

PT	AIN	AK	NR	KR	CIL
-	-	1	1	-	9

PR	PP	PAR	KL	TK	MM
1	--	--	2	-	4

ninra vennayan tarudi . . . .

PR 208.3

"Having graced me who was standing there"

Virikunir nala malvor kettarul

MM 5.31

"O born to rule this land, hear!"

9. Vitu

This is also found only in low quency at first and later on its frequency increases.

PT	AIN	AK	NR	KR	CIL
-	-	1	1	1	-

PR	PP	PAR	KL	TK	MM
-	-	-	9	19	

perumpeyal vitiyal virittuvit tanna
naruntan niyale namma meni

KR. 168. 3-4

"Her beautiful, dark body smells as sweet and feels as cool as buds spread out at dawn in a great rain"

ennotu nirra lelitanro marravan
tannotu ninru vitu

KL 63.16-17

"Is it not easy to stand with me? Stand with him"

2.9. Oli

This is found in only one instance in MM.

......avanmun ayarntoli vayalai

MM 21. 112

"You will not go away from him"

3. Reflexive auxiliary verb *kol*

In Tamil this auxiliary verb is used not only in reflexive sentences but also in the sentences in which the subject is also affected by the action.

avan tannaik katintukontan (Reflexive)

"He condemned himself"
avan tanakku oru puttakam vankik kontan (Self-affective)
"He bought a book for him"

It can be mentioned here that the auxiliary verb in the second sentence is opposite to the auxiliary verb *kotu*. This can be illustrated by the following examples.

avan tanakku oru pencil civikkontan (self-affective)
"He sharpened a pencil for himself"
avan avalukku oru pencil civikkotuttan
"He sharpened a pencil for her"

In OT, reflexive auxiliary verb *kol* is not found in reflexive sentences. Only the reflexive pronoun *tan* is found. This is also found only in fourteen instances (AIN 68.4, PR 206.7, 274.4, TK 56, 209, 237, 250, 305, 439, 474, 878, 883, 974, 1009).

tarkattut tarkontar penit takai canra
corkattuc corvital pen
TK 56

"Having protected herself, having favoured her husband and protecting the proud of the family a lady will not have tiredness"

The second type of auxiliary verbs i.e. self-affective are found in many instances in OT. We find these auxiliaries occurring after verbal participles as well as non-finite verbs (murreccams). It should be remembered here that *murreccms* function as verbal participles do in every aspect.

aytoti matavarai ventuti yayir
. . . .
tankatar cerppa varaintanai konmo
AIN 196. 2-6

"O chieftain of the littoral region where the red prawns are caught in the clear backwater if you really want this lady of precious armlet take her"

. . . . . . innoy nonrukolar karite
KR 58.6
"This sickness is very hard to contain"

In OT a very slow increase in the frequency of this verb is found.

PT	AIN	AK	NR	KR	CIL
-	2	2	1	2	6

PR	PP	PAR	KL	TK	MM
1	2	2	9	4	2

4. Passive Auxiliary Verb Patu

This auxiliary verb changes the active sentences into passive sentences. In OT, three types of passive sentences are found.

1. Sub. NP + Inst. NP + Int + *Patu*

2. Sub. NP + Sub. NP + Int + *Patu*

3. Underlying Inst. NP + Sub.NP + Int. + *patu*

Sub. NP + Inst.NP + Int + *patu*

. . . . an nalam
payalaiya lunappattup pantainc
rolintak kal KL 15.12-13

"If that fairness was destroyed by the sick of grieving"

Sub.NP + Sub.NP + Int. + *patu*

cirantana polun killai pirankiya
pukkamai kuntar koticci
nokkavum patumava toppavum
patume AIN 290 - 2- 4

"The parrots seem to be very lucky. They are both regarded and scared away by the lady of shiny, flower-smelling hair".

3. Ssub. NP + Int + *patu*

ullatu citaippor ularenp patar
KR 283.1

"Those who only use up what there is are said to have nothing at all"

The frequency of these passive sentences in OT is as follows:-

	with Inst.NP.	without Inst. NP	Inst. NP in underlying level
PT	-	-	-
AIN	-	3	1
AK	-	-	2
NR	-	1	2
KR	-	-	5
PR	1	3	4
PP	-	-	1
PAR	-	-	-
KL	2	4	11
TK	4	2	48
CIL	-	-	--
MM	3	1	53

Many structures which have verbal noun in OT are found to have infinitives in later Tamil.

ceytal kantu ----- ceyyak kantu.
ceytal totanikinar ---- ceyyat totankinar
ceytal ventum -------- ceyya ventum

are some instances for this. The passive sentences can aslo be treated to have verbal nouns in the underlying level. For instance, the above Ainkurunuru passive sentences --

killai nani cirantana
koticci nokkavenum patum, aval
oppavum patum

can be interpreted as

killai nani cirantana koticci
nokkutalum patum, aval
opputalum patum.

In such an interpretation also the effect of the action goes to *killai*. This interpretation is further strengthened by the OT instances in which the subject NP is found instead of instrumental NP.

These structures can be treated as medieval structures.

1. Killai koticci nokkutalum, aval opputalum patum.
2. killai koticci nokkavum patum, aval oppavum patum (old Tamil).
3. Killai koticciyal nokkavum patum, avalal oppavum patum (Modern Tamil).

Similarly,

1. ak karai antanar nuvalutalum patume
2. ak karai antanar nuvalavum patume (Old Tamil), PR.1)
3. ak karai antanara nuvalavum patume (Modern Tamil)

Unfortunately we are not able to find any instance in OT with the structure *VN + patu*

5. Casual Auxiliaries

Though in OT morphological causatives are found in large number (arivuruum "which causes to know" AK 351) the syntactic causatives are also found in few instances. The four auxiliaries *cey, vai, pannu* and *akku* are found in OT.

5.1. cey

This is found in Narrinai, kalittokai and Cilappatikaram each having one instance.

Katalpari netunter varavantu alunkac
ceytatan tappal anviyum
NR 203.10-11
"Besides making to stop the chieftain's
chariot visiting"
iruluru kuntala lennai
arulurae ceyinnumak karanuma ratuve KL 140. 33-34

"If you will make to grace to me
that will be your virtue"
mankulirac ceyyu maravel netuntakai
tankutai vemmai vilaitta tituvenkol CIL 19. 21-22
"The King's umbrella which will cool down
the earth caused terrible agony. What
shall we say of this?"

5.2. pannu

This auxiliary verb is found in

Akananuru (3) Purananuru (1) and Kalittokai (1)

annik kurukkaip parantalait
titiyan

tonnilai mulumutal tumiyap
pannip

punnai kuraitta nanrai . . . .
AK 45.9-11

"At the time when (he) cut the Punnai tree having destroyed totally the earlier stage of Anni kurukkai Parantalai Titiyan"

utalarum tupp nonrumoli ventarai
anankarum parantalai yunankap
pannip

piniyuru muracan konta kalai
PR 25.5-7

"At the time when (he) won the drum having defeated the kings who are hard to fight and who came together"

5.3. akku

This auxiliary verb has come in only one instance in Manimekalai.

" . . . . verruru veytavum

antaran tiriyavum akkumiv
varuntiran MM 10.80-81.

"This rare skill will make
one to get some other structure
and to wander in space"

5.4. vai

This has also come in only one instance in Manimekalai,

valankelu kula vanikan cattan
mavan tamilttiram manime
kalaituravu
araim pattinul ariyavait tananen
MM PT 95-97

"Koolavanikan sathan composed in thirty cantos the Renunciation of Manimekalai and this brought glory to the Tamil World".

Tense auxiliary

Only one tense auxiliary iru is found in puram in one instance.

Peruntakai mannarkku varaij-tirunta nane PR 340.9

"The chieftain had decided to give her in marriage to kings".

As already stated, the OT texts show only a beginning stage of the auxiliary verb system. A full-fledged development is found only in later periods.

Abbreviations

AIN	=	Ainkurunuru	NF	=	Infinitive
AK	=	Akananuru	KL	=	Kalittokai
CIL	=	Cilappatikaram	KR	=	Kuruntokai

MM	=	Manimekalai	PR	=	Puranamuru
NR	=	Narrinai	PT	=	Patirruppattu
PAR	=	Paripatal	TK	=	Tirukkural
PP	=	Pattuppattu	TOL	=	Tolkappiyam

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SHRI VARADARAJASWAMI TEMPLE AT KANCHIPURAM AS THE CULT CENTRE OF VATAKALAI VAISNAVISM-AN ANALYTICAL STUDY

J. Rangaswami

Kanchipuram near Madras, is reputed as one of the seven *Muktishetras* in India.[1] Even before the Christian era, it is a renowned centre of knowledge and culture. All the religious cults like Vaisnavism, Shaivism, Jainism, Buddhism etc., flourished in the city. The encyclopaedic intellectual eminence of various cults wide spread in Kanchi, demarcates the city structure into major sectors as Shiva Kanchi, Visnu Kanchi, Jaina Kanchi and Buddha Kanchi. Amidst the complex, the Visnu Kanchi and Shiva Kanchi are more prominent mainly due to the religious dominations.[2] The 108 Shiva Temples and 18 Visnu temples said to exist in the city sanctify Kanchi as a heavenly abode, but it is the Shri Varadarajaswami temple which has served as the seat of Shri Vaisnavism. The great Acaryas who resided and associated themselves with the activities of the temple had contributed for the development of the indigenous sectarian cult, i.e., Vatakalai Vaisnavism. An investigation in this regard may serve to recognise the exponents who established the cult strongly in Kanchi.

It is quite evident that each and every religion would emerge in response to certain sociological needs and the changes of doctrines in the field directly indicate the changes in the social structure. To satisfy the social needs in an evolutionary process, the religion would also change as an offshoot to the core. Then religion forked into divergent directions and the clefted principles constituted a separate wing. This is called schism. So Christianity divides into Roman Catholism and Protestantism, Islam into Sunnis and Shias, Buddhism into Mahayana and Hinayana, Jainism into Svatambara and Digambara. Likewise Shri. Vaisnavism bifurcated into *Vatakalai* (VK) and *Tenkalai* (TK). Since the VK and TK sprang as counter movements against each other, both grew along with the *Visnu Bhakti Movement* (VBM). So it is imperative to study the historical as well as the schistic advancement of VBM. The development of VK at Visnu Kanchi in response to the TK at Shrirangam in particular would stand as background to investigate whether Shri Varadarajaswami Temple belongs to either the VK or Tk or both.

The VBM in Tamil Nadu could be studied under six phases, i.e., 1. Cankam period (upto 6th

century A.D), 2. Alvars period (6th to 9th century A.D)., 3. Acaryas period (10th century to 12th century A.D.,), 4. Post - Ramanuja period (13th to 14th century A.D.,), 5. Vedanta Deshika and post-Vedanta Deshika period (14th to 18th Century A.D.,) and 6. Modern period (19th and 20th century A.D.,). During the cankam period VBM took its germination but was not a movement.[3] During the Alvars period VBM developed into an advanced form due to the songs composed by the twelve Alvars.[4] During the Acaryas period Nathamuni to Shri Ramanuja VBM was further developed. They collected all the mystical poems of Alvars and gave shape to the Shri Vaisnava theology and philosophy. So VBM was established with the specific doctrine Vishistadvaita, in which faith and reason had been amalgamated and synthesized.[5] In the post-Ramanuja period changes, improvements, controversies, set backs, progress, consolidation, schism, etc., formed part of the VBM. Only at the time of Vedanta Deshika and post-Vedanta Deshika's period, we find a cleavage in the VBM as the VK and TK where all the doctrines were well establishd and settled. In the history of VBM, especially after Shri Ramanuja, Vedanta Deshika contributed a lot because he was the pioneer to settle the doctrinal and the customary disputes between the VK and TK. After him, both the clefted traditions separately developed in their own ways. During the time, the doctrinal differences lead to sectarian domination over the temple activities. In the modern period the sense of dominancy over the traditions started and the differences of opinion bloomed as disputes, litigations and accusations which lead upto the Privy council and Supreme Court.[6]

During the Acaryas period the VK developed vigorously at Visnu Kanchi, for that the proper reasons could be elucidated. At that time Visnu Kanchi was engulfed in the midst of Advaitins, Nyayikias, Mimamsakas, Shaivas, Jains and Buddhists. Under such circumstance, to safeguard their religious faith and philosophy from the attack of the opponents, the talented intellectuals, who specialized in the systematic philosophical approach of epistemology, metaphysics and logic defended their position against the challenges of the rival systems. To stabilize their status they qualified themselved in the Vedas, Shastras and they involved themselves in debates to defend their doctrines with the help of authoritative scriptures with systematic logic. Under such compelling circumstances they strengthened the Vishistadvaita Philosophy by improving the doctrines and the style of exposition especially upon the soteriological disputes with the help of *shruti, shmriti* and *dharmasashtras*.[7]

On the other hand, the TK developed at Shrirangam because of the Shri Ranganatha temple and to it all the Alvars and Acaryas had special affinity. Yamunacarya and Shri

Ramanuja gave discourses in *Nālayiradivyaprabandham* (NDP) to gather large number of disciples; the lectures given either in a temple or nearby *matha* collected the masses irrespective of caste, colour and creed. To attract the audiences, the Acharyas while giving lectures on the NDP used the techniques like exaggeration hyperbole and dramatic appeal and they illustrated their indigenous doctrines with the help of everyday analogies and the examples taken from the popular legends and *Itihasa-puranas*.[8]

A brief study of Shri Ramanuja's followers and their contribution either through philosophy or through temple activities to the particular tradition is necessary, so that the significant role played by the Acharyas at Visnu Kanchi could be deduced. Shri Ramanuja to popularize Sri Vaisnavism, organised two kinds of *Acāryaparamparais* namely the *Rahasyaparamparai* and the *Granthaparamparai*. The followers of *Rahasyaparamparai* are the TK or southern group. They gave more importance to NDP than the Sanskrit sources. The followers of *Granthaparamparai* are the VK or northern group. They recognize the three main works, Shribhasyam, NDP and Rahasyatriam[9].

The VK starts from Shri Ramanuja (1017-1137 A.D.) and developed through the eminent Acaryas like Tirukurukkaipiran Pillan (1060 - 1161 A.D.) Engal Alvan (12th Century A.D.) Nadadur Ammal (13th century A.D.) Atreya Ramanuja (13th century A.D.) and Vedanta Deshika (1268-1369 A.D.)[10] Tirukurukkaipiran Pillan wrote an authentic commentary 6000 (Arayirappati) to Tiruvaymoli under the guidance of Shri Ramanuja. To respect his *guru*, he also installed Shri Ramanuja's image in a shrine at Shrirangam. Both these incidents provided the stepping stone for the origin of the VK, but this also happened to be the main cause for the origination of the TK.[11] Nadadur Ammal and Atreya Ramanuja made Visnu Kanchi as the main centre of VK. Especially Nadadur Ammal influenced the Hoysala Kingdom and the Chieftains of the dynasty to offer valuable endowments to Shri Varadarajaswami temple.[12] Though all the VK Acaryas paid attention to develop the tradition, Vedanta Deshika played a significant role to identify the cult by framing the prescribed rules and regulations for the temple and social activities. Vedanta Deshika by writing a commentary-74000 (elupattunalayirappati) on Tiruvaymoli criticized all the previous commentaries of the TK, on which he derived Shri Ramanuja's original views and he set aside all the other views as the outcome in expression and interpretation.[13] In his works[14] Vedanta Deshika supported Hinduism against Islam, Vishistadvaita against Advaita and specially the VK against the TK.

The TK started and developed through Sri Ramanuja, Embhar (11th century A.D.),[15] Bhattar (12th century A.D.) Nanjiyar (12th century A.D.)

Nampillai (13th century A.D.) Periavachchan Pillai (13th Century A.D.) Vatakkuthiruvidi Pillai (13th Century A.D.) Pillai Lokacarya (13th and 14th century A.D.) Thiruvaymoli Pillai (14th century A.D.)[16] and Manavala Mamunical (1370-1443 A.D.).[17] Though all the Acaryas[18] have contributed to their cult, Pillai Lokacarya[19] and Manavala Mamunical[20] are more important. Pillai Lokacarya's views about *moksa* distinguish the TK from the VK, i.e. the *atman* should forget himself but he should always think about Shriman Narayana and worships his Acharya and Shri, the consort of Lord for grace. He also strongly emphasises the doctrines of grace, *prapatti* and *purusakara* or *Shri* which are considered to be the back-bone of the TK. Manavala Mamunical as chief priest in Shrirangam in his life time converted many non-vaisnavites to Shri Vaisnavism. He encouraged inter caste-marriages and inter-communal dining and he condemned the *varna* and *ashrama* principles. To respect his *guru*, he installed Pillai Lokacharya's icon in his *math*[21] which shows that the adoration of one's own *guru* itself is enough for obtaining *moksa*. He first composed the invocatory verse, *'Shrisailesha dayapatram,'*[22] and the TK recites it in the temple even today. On the otherhand VK recites, *'Shriramanuja dayāpatram'*[23] the invocatory verse to Shri Varadarajaswami Temple at Kanchipuram to respect Atreya Ramanuja.

Thus the VK at Visnu Kanchi maintained their tradition conservative and orthodox by supporting sanskrit *Granthās* and *Varnashramadharmās*. They also refused to equate the Sanskrit with Tamil, *dvijas* with non-dvijas and Prasthanatriayam with NDP. On the other hand, the TK at Shrirangam emphasised that the NDP alone is enough and they spread their views freely to all the members of the society without caste, creed and colour.

One way or other the VK Acharyas dominate over Shri Varadarajaswami temple and maintain it as their own. In this regard it is worthwile to point out the role played by the Tatacharya family. They are proficient in the exposition of Ramayana and they enjoyed the status of *rājagurus*, the chief receptors in the Vijayanagar court. Originally they were in Tirupaty, then they shifted to Ettur in Karnataka and in 1565 A.D., there to Hampi, the capital of Vijayanagar Kingdom where they settled. In 1572 A.D. a group of family settled at Kanchi.[24] It is noteworthy to mention that all Tatacharyas at Kanchi exclusively belong to the VK. But there are some among the TKs also who are despised by the VKs and they reside at Shrimushnam which is located near Kanchipuram. The history of the temple disputes show that they always supported the non-Tatacharya VK.

The VBM in South India, the schism and the culture of the VK at Visnu Kanchi in relation to that of the TK at Shrirangam and the domination

of Tatacharyas who administred the temple as manager are clear expression that originally the VK dominated over the temple administration. The Sthalapuranam,[25] the Vedic recitation in the temple campus[26] and the hereditary rights of the VK to perform *pujās* as prescribed in the Pancharatra agama[27] are supplementing the above issue. But in the temple history, the TK had the occasion to dominate over the temple activities. So the study of the circumstances that enable them to enter into the temple is necessary at this point.

After the fall of Vijayanagar dynasty, especially during Muslim invasion at Kanchi (1688 A.D.) due to the fear, Tatacharyas and the leading priests carried the idols of Lord Varadarajaswami and His consort Perundevittayar and took them to far away place near Udaiyarpalayam in a jungle under the custody till of 1710 A.D. When Kanchi was freed from the fear of Muslim invasion, the authorities wanted to bring the idols back to their original place. But they failed because the chieftain of the place refused to part with idols. Attan Tiruvenkada Ramanuja Jiyer, the leader of the TK informed Lala Todarmalla of the happenings and sought his help in the restoration of the idols to the original place. Lala Todarmalla sent a small contigent of the army to Udaiyarpalayam and on seeing army advancing towards his territory the Jamindar hearing the consequences of an armed conflict brought the idols and handed over them to the proper persons. All the Tatachariyas and the followers of the VK pleased and confirmed the Sarva-Shri-Karya-Durantaratvam, the title of full proporietorship to Lala Todarmalla, but he transferred the right to his *guru* Attan Jiyer. He enjoyed the right upto his death in the year 1723 A.D. After that Lala Todarmalla shifted the right to Attan Jiyer's son as their own right and they enjoyed it upto 1794 A.D.[28]

Such being the age the TK holds of the opinion that Shri Varadarājaswami temple belong to them even from the very beginning of the temple worship, then it should have been changed to the VK during the 19th century A.D. In defence of their stand they furnish the following arguments.

i) Originally the temple had only the TK castemarks but by physical force the VK people changed into their own caste marks. But the VK refute contention of the TK.

ii) Among 108 Visnu temples in South India, 85 temples belong to the TK and the temple which are located in the birth places of either Alvars or Acharyas belong to the TK, examples, Yatokkakari in Kanchipuram, Alvar Tirunagari, Kattumannar koil, Shriperumpudur, Shrirangam etc. So the TK argues that atleast majority of the shrines belong to them. But the VK reacts against it by saying that whatever might have been the situation the marks and certain

practices of the temple are clearly favourable to them.

iii) P.B. Annangarachariar says that the introduction of the verse *Shriramanujadayapatram* in the temple is the main cause for the conflict. According to him the *mantra* might have been composed in 18th century A.D. because it is only a *sloka* prefaced to the commentary-18000 *(pathine tayirappati)* written by Peria Parakalaswami of the 18th century. When he began touring South India to introduce *Shriramanuja dayapatram*, the conflict started and spread. He is also of the view that the original tanian of Vedanta Deshika is *Shriman Venkatanatharya*[29] a tanian composed by Vedanta Deshika himself. He adds that the Tatacharya who managed the temple first resisted the introduction of the *mantra* but latter on they accepted the innovation.

The legal conflict between them started in 1794, A.D. The Tatacharya family drew the attention of the British government to the mismanagement of the temple activities by the Attan Jiyer's followers. By accepting the complaints the government administred the temple through the revenue board upto 1842 A.D. Then the government gave the trusteeship to the Tatacharyas and they enjoyed it upto 1941 A.D. But in the midst, there were innumerable litigative instances between the two traditions which made the situation unruly.

At first in 1865 A.D., a serie of quarrels took place within the premises. The TK started the dispute against the Tatacharyas who tried to introduce the *Shriramanuja dayapatram.*[30] But the TK failed because of the Joint Magistrate's decision that the final opinion is within the discretion of the trustees. They made an appeal in the High court in 1867 A.D., stating that the temple trustees had no more right than to continue the traditional practice. But they failed in this attempt also. But in 1879 A.D., they took the case to the parliament to have an enquiry about the dispute. For this the High court favoured the followers of TK to recite the *Shrisaileshadayapatram.* In 1938 A.D., the followers of VK made consequent complaints to the High court for equal right in *abhyabakam*, to recite the NDP in the temple. The court gave permission to recite and they were asked to stand from the third row only. In 1912 A.D., the followers of TK filed a complaint against the VK people regarding an alleged attempt to change the TK casté mark to VK in Nammalvar's shrine in the temple. On this point the court favoured in TK.[31]

In 1914 A.D., the followers of TK again gave complaint to the High court against the Tatacharya family requesting the court to restrain the VK group from reciting, *shriramanuja dayapatram*. The High court decided that the status quo permitted with the proviso that the administration of the temple should be carried on by a paid

executive trustee, a *smartha* or a *Mathva* assisted by two Tatacharya honorary trustees. Recently in 1962 A.D., the board started suomotto proceedings to modify the High court scheme because many of the provisions in the old scheme were against the provisions of endowment act. The matter is pending in the High court in writ application filed by the Tatacharya family.

To sum up: i) From Pre-Ramanuja era to 16th century A.D., the temple stands as a cult centre for the VK. It could be verified through the study of socio-religious background of Visnu Kanchi. ii) From 1 th to 18th century A.D. the TK dominated over the temple activities. iii) From the beginning of 19th century A.D., to till date, the conflict is affecting the temple administration in one way or another. iv) it is only in this temple, due to the dense differences between the two cult, the recitation of the Vedas and the NDP goes on in a competitive spirit.

In conclusion, it would be in the interest of the temple and administration that the TK are also associated with all the activities of the temple that helps in better management of the temple and strengthen Shrivaisnavism.

BACK NOTE

The Paper mainly considers K.V. Raman's book "Sri Varadarajaswami Temple, Kanchi" and the critical survey of the book by Sri. R. Varada Tatacharya's "The Temple of Lord Varadaraja, Kanchi". The present article tried its level best to reconcil both the views. As a contributor, personally am of the opinion, that unless otherwise a historical research regarding the Vatakalai and Tenkalai disputes in Sri Vaisnavism is dealt with social, political, philosophical and religions background, the question whether the temple belongs to Vatakalai or Tenkalai could not be answered. But the consolation is that the present conclusion as found in this paper is agreeable.

NOTES

1. Ayodhya Mathura Maya Kasi Kanchi Avantika/ Puri, Dvaravati caiva saptaita moksadayikah. (Tamil Civilization, Vol. No.4, December, 1985,p.39).

2. At present due to the influence of Vaisnavism and Shaivism except Visnu Kanchi and Shiva Kanchi, Jaina Kanchi and Buddha Kanchi are extinguished. The followers of Jainism are scattered throughout the city but Buddhism has been annihilated in Kanchi.

3. It is possible to suggest that even at the Cankam period the impact of North Indian VBM influenced upon the VBM in South India but there is no proper means to study. Prof.K.A. Nilakanda Sastri observes the situation as, "We have lost the historical link between the early *bhakti* movement of north and the movement in the Tamil country" - K.A. Nilakanda Sastri, *Development of Religion in South India*. p.39.

4. They are Poigai, Bhudam Pei, Tirumalishai, Nammalvar, Mathurakavi, Perialvar, Andal, Tiruppan, Tondaradippodi, Kulashekara and Tirumangai. It is significant to note that they are not of a particular caste, i.e. among them one is woman (Andal), one is Panchama (Tiruppan) and one is *Chaturtta* (Nammalvar). The first three Alvars never distinguish Visnu from Shiva but Harihara as equal. Nammalvar, Perialvar and Andal are improved the mystical union of devotee with God through *bhakti;* Thirumangaialvar culminates the sectarian view as exclusive Shri Vaisnavism in which he gave preference to Lord Visnu.

5. Shri Ramanuja took whole responsibilities to channelize Shri Vaisnavism in one large stream what had flowed in through various tributaries of mystic *bhati* of Alvars. Vedic tradition including Vedas, Bhagavad Gita and *Shmritis* and provide a common basis for social and religious life.

6. N. Jagadeesan, *History of Sr. Vaisnavism in the Tamil Country*. pp.50-54.

7. Patricia Yvonne Mumme, *The Theology of Manavala Mamuni*, Ph.D. Thesis, 1983, pp.9-18.

8. *Ibid.*

9. N. Jagadeesan, *op.cit.*, pp. 42-43

10. *Ibid.*, pp.130-146.

11. *Ibid*, p.131.

12. K.R. Venkataraman, *Hoysalas in the Tamil country*, p.65.

13. To explicate the truth Mummu quotes Vedanta Deshika's Sampradaya Parisuddhi as, "No where in the tradition of the disciple of the Bhasyakara (Ramanuja) is there any contradiction in meaning; there are only differences in expression and interpretation (Vayayo jana)". Patricia Yvonne Mumme, *Op.cit.*, p.26.

14. Due to the Vedanta Deshika's services to Shri Vaisnavism, his followers irrespective of the cults gave reverence to him. For instance, once the Brahmin community as a whole invited him to take up a challenge against an Advaitin at Shrirangam. He accepted and won in the contest.

When Malik Kafur invaded Srirangam in ‌1310-11, A.D., Vedanta Deshika, Pillai Lokacharya and other leading priests saved the presiding dieties. In 1370- 71, A.D. he also played a major role to reinstall the idols in the temple with the help of General Gopanna the commander of the Vijavanagar army. In commemoration of his valuable service, his idol was installed in all the Shri Vaisnava temples like Tirupati, Shriperumbudur, Kanchi and Shrirangam.

15. It is worth to indicate that Embar's wife Shiriya Andal followed the ascetic order with the permission of Shri Ramanuja. This would be the first incident to the followers of the TK to throw off the rigidity of Shri Vaisnavism, i.e. a woman became *sanyasini* was aganist the principle of *smrtis* and the Grihya sutras of orthodox vedic Hinduism.

16. Tiruvaymoli Pillai was the chief perceptor to Manavala Mamuni. He made a separate idol in shrine for Shri Ramanuja and established a colony named Shri Ramanujachaturvidimangalam at Alvar Tirunagari.

17. N.Jagadeesan, *op.cit.* pp.98-130.

18. Some of the TKo Acharyas also wrote commentaries to Tiruvaymoli in Manipravala style, Tamil-Tamil infused with Sanskrit terms and phrases, in which they used the piety of Alvar's hymns and Sanskrit authorities. They are: i)*Onbadinayirrapati* or commentary-9000 by Nanjiyar, ii) *Irubattunalayirappati* or commentary 24000 by Perivachchan Pillai, iii) *Muppattarayirappati* or commentary 36000 by Vadakkuthiruvidi Pillai. iv) Pannirayirappati or commentary 12000 by Algiya Manavala Jiyer, a disciple of Nainarachan, the son of Perivachchan Pillai, v & vi) two classical commentaries of the medieval period known as *Bhagavat vishayam,* Muppattarayirappati by Attan Jiyer and Muppattarayirappati by Ramanuja Jiyer. Here *pati* represents the number of *granthas* or lines of character they contain.

19. His contribution to Shri Vaisnavism bears a historical importance. When muslim invaded Shrirangam, he along with Vedanta Deshika disguished the idols of proceeding deities from the main shrine to Pandiya kingdom. While they proceed to Kalaiyarkoyil through Tirukkotiyur, he expired.

20. Manavala Mamunical administred the Shrirangam temple activities as Shri Ramanuja and Bhattar and regained it from corruption. He personally took interest to study Shribhasyam from Kidambi Achchan, one of the student of Vedanta Deshika to know the truths of *grantha* literature, so

that he became as *Ubhya Vedantacharya*-an expert in expounding NDP and Shribhasyam. They to criticize Vedanta Deshika's views, he revised, reinterpreted and popularized the teachings of the NDP. He also organised *Asta Dig Gajas* to spread his cult to South India.

21. Pallavarayan's monastry, a *muth* which belonged to Kandadai Aandan, a contemporer of Shri Ramanuja.

22. Manavala Mamuni's taniyan:
Shrisailesadyapatram dibhaktyadigunarnavam/
yatindrapravanam vande ramya jamatram munim//

23. Vedanta Deshika's tanyan:
Shriramanujadayapatram jnanavairagyabhusanam/
Shrimadvinkatanatharyam vande Vedanta deshikam.//

24. They are the descendant of Shri Shailanatha or Tirumalainambi, the uncle and the teacher of Shri Ramanuja. Since they had influence in Vijayanagar Empires, they became as manager general to Shri Varadarajaswami Temple. They helped to errect *Kalyanakoti vimana* of *Tayar* shrine from the aids received from Krishna Devaraya (A.D.,1509-1529) and they also helped to construct many *Vahanas*, the processional vehicles and some jewels to Lord Varada.

25. The sthalapuranam (11 century A.D) described the temple as the abode of Gajendra the divine elephant whom Lord Varada saved from a crocodile. Hastagiri-Mahatmiyam says that the temple was the place where Brahma did *yajna* and out of it Lord Visnu emerged in the form of Lord Varadaraja in the *Punya-koti Vimana*. Indeed the story and the Sanskrit terms related to the temple are expressing the affinity of the temple to VK. K.V.Raman, *Shri Varadarajaswami temple-Kanchi*, pp.5-9.

26. The Vedic-recitation in the temple would have been started even from the Pro-Ramanuja period. So chronologically Vedic chanting preceded that of NDP.

27. The *pujas* in the temple follows the Jayakhya-samhita, one of the texts of Pancharatra agama. It is considered to be as authoritative as Vedas and it belongs to *grantha* tradition.

28. Dr.K.V.Raman with authentic evidences of inscriptions epigraphs, *urthvapundra* and with the study of post-Manavala Mamunical's activities of the temple, expresses his opinion that from 15th to 18th century A.D., the TK keeps its domination over the temple administration. K.V. Raman, Op.cit.pp. 75-78 & 87-89.

29. Vedanta Deshika's taniyan:

Shriman Venkatanatharyah Kavi tarka Keshari / Vedantacharya varyoma sannitattam sattra krthi//

30. This incident reveals that upto the midst of the 19th century, Tenkalais enjoyed the right as they gained from Attan Jiyar's agreement.

31. The same kind of litigations happened in Tirumalai, Tirupati, Alvar Tirunagari, Shrivilliputtur, Tirukkuringudi, Tiruchcheri, Mannargudi, Tirukkannamangalam, Tirupputkuli, Shriperumpudur and Tiruvallur. But in all the case the TK succeeded. N.Jagadeesan, op.cit, p.207.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TWO STATESMEN : BURKE AND ANNA

M.S. Gopalasamy

I
Introduction

Edmund Burke (1729-97) a British Parliamentarian and Statesman of the eighteenth century has a unique place among orators and writers in English. His speeches and writings are studied with keen interest by students as well as by general readers to this day. So also C.N.Annadurai (1909-69) of Tamil Nadu who was a member of the Legislative Assembly and then a member in the parliament and who later became Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and continued in office till he died in 1969, has been enjoying a unique place among orators and writers in Tamil, while his English speeches and writings have also won the admiration of all, Indians as well as foreigners. A comparative study of these two great men with reference to their political speeches and, writings, is made here with a view to bringing to light the underlying similarities and dissimilarities in their thoughts and attitudes.

The scope of the present study is confined to a few topics of general interest, namely (1) their intellectual and political milieu and background (2) their concept of society and Government (3) their political philosophy and statesmanship and (4) their humanism.

II
Intellectual and Political Milieu and Background of Burke and Anna

A study of the intellectual and political milieu and background of Edmund Burke and Anna reveals that both Burke and Anna were similar to each other in certain respects. Burke and Anna were born in middle class families and they had read a lot of books relating to various branches of knowledge with special interest in history and literature. Both had thus acquired a good knowledge of men and things, quite appropriate to the great tasks they had to perform later. Just as Burke had Rockingham as his patron, Anna also had Periyar E.V.Ramasamy as his political *Guru* (Master). As Burke shaped Rockingham's thoughts on political matters Anna also influenced Periyar's thoughts in politics. Burke was always in the opposition except for a short period when he was Pay Master in Rockingham's ministry and also in the coalition ministry in

which Fox represented the whigs. Anna was also in the opposition for a major period of his political career except for the short duration of his Chief Ministership. The political and social conditions that existed in England, America, Ireland, India and France made Burke devote his entire political career to the affairs of these countries, championing the causes of the affected and the underprivileged. So also the political and social conditions that existed in Tamil Nadu made Anna devote his entire political career, since he came out of college, to the affairs of the down-trodden in Tamil Nadu.

III
Their Concept of Society and Government

Concept of Society

Burke believed that society is an organisation which came into existence through evolution. He advocated Natural Law which he considered to be of Divine Origin (i.e. originated from will of God). Burke said that no civil law in society could go against the Natural Law. To Burke "the only rights men can actually enjoy (in society) are rights created, recognised and protected by society. Freedom is to be found not in weakening the social bond but in strengthening it, not in setting man against the state but in reconciling men to the state and working out natural compromises, conferring such liberty as may be consistant with the welfare of a society."[1] Burke believed in class distinctions. Anna as one belonging to the present century, did not find any necessity to talk about the origin of society or the Natural Law theory, the essence of which is embodied in the fundamental principles of democracy. To him the class distinction based on caste is only an artificial creation unknown to the Tamils of the Sangam and the Pre-Sangam periods. Burke believed in one God and advocated religious tolerance. Anna as a believer in rationalism opposed all superstitious beliefs in the name of religion. As an advocate of religious tolerance Anna favoured the principle of "One creed one God". Burke had great faith in moral principles, namely justice and liberty, which he expected all authorities to bear in mind, in public activities. Anna's proverbial statements stand as evidences for his regard for moral values which he wanted to be followed in all the activities in society and state. His life-long message was *Kadamai, Kanniyam* and *Kattupadu* (meaning Duty, Integrity and Discipline) which governed his own life, personal and public.[2] Anna strongly believed in the principle, *Marappom, Mannippom* (Forget and Forgive).[3] Whenever he faced any pungent criticism from his political enemies, he would say *Ethaiyum Thangum Ithaiyam Engalukku Undu* (Meaning we have the heart that will withstand anything).[4] His reference to Poonkunranar's dictum, *Yadum Ure Yavarum Kelir* (Every village is my village and every one is my kin) reveals his deep faith in fraternity.[5]

Anna also said that the individuals who entered political life should possess democratic spirit, unselfishness, duty *consciousness and give - and -* take policy.[6] He always emphasised that one who sacrificed self-interest for the sake of common interest was a real man.[7] Both Burke and Anna had great regard for cultural values. Burke showed respect for old institutions like monarchy, aristocracy and church and Anna liked and advocated the old marriage system of the Tamils, in which mutual love was respected and marriages were conducted without priestly interference. Anna also liked the time-honoured Harvest Festival of Tamils which assumed the name Pongal later. He said that Pongal was incomparable Tamil Festival. Of all the festivals he had witnesed in various capitals of foreign countries, nothing was comparable to Pongal for its splendour. 'Work is wealth', 'work gives higher position' and 'there is no world without work', are principles for which Pongal Festival stands,[8] said Anna. He expected Tamil people to celebrate Pongal with Pomp and glory. To Burke classical and English literatures were of immense value. Anna also had immeasurable love for Tamil language and its literature, ancient and modern. The antiquity of the Tamil language and the valuable thoughts that Tamil literature has made available, to humanity, made Anna feel proud of them. He stood firm in safeguarding Tamil language and literature at any cost. Only on this count he had to oppose Hindi imposition which, he feared, would undermine the importance of Tamil and its literature in its own land, if left unchecked. It was during the period of *his Chief Ministership* that the second world Tamil Conference was held with pomp and glory and statues of great poets and scholars were erected on the Marina Beach at Madras. Anna's knowledge of both ancient and modern Tamil literature also enabled him to make valuable contributions to Tamil literature. His Tamil literary works include short stories, novels, plays and essays, besides his political speeches and writings which are pieces of literatue.

Concept of Government

Burke accepted constitutional monarchy but opposed absolute monarchy in England. Anna wanted a Federal structure for the Indian Republic with the Central Government having only the minimum necessary powers to deal with the affairs of Defence and Communication and the states having autonomy to deal with State administration and all the developmental activities connected with states. Though Burke believed in Laissez - faire (free trade) policy and Anna in Socialism both kept people's benefit as their main concern in their economic policy. Anna advocated mixed economy which meant the coexistence of the private industries and the *State-owned* industries. He also insisted that the State should encourage production and ensure fair distribution. The concept of a welfare State was

not knwon to Burke. But Anna, as one belonging to the present century, advocated it insisting on State's special care for people in the fields of education, health and social security.

IV
Political Philosophy and Statesmanship

Political Philosophy

Neither Burke nor Anna wrote any treatise on political philosophy. It is deduced from their speeches and writings that both were believers in liberalism, conservatism and democracy. Burke's strong faith in liberalism is evident from his championing the cause of the Americans who opposed the right of British authorities to tax them. His faith in liberalism is also evident in his opposition to absolute monarchy in England. Like Burke, Anna also had great faith in liberalism. To him liberalism "stands against coersive interference of any kind in any walk of life whether moral or religious, social or political and the like . . . ."[9] Anna believed that the down-trodden Tamil people were not enjoying liberty, being suppressed in political, economic and social fields. He believed that the privileged class, namely brahmins, being well educated, were in an advantageous position in the pre-independent India, playing a dominant role in politics. He also believed that in the economic field the under-privileged, namely, non-brahmins were poverty - stricken and were in a suppressed state, being illiterate and employed only in the manual work which kept their economic position always at the low ebb, while the industrialists from the North flourished well here, and in the social field, in the name of caste, the non-brahmins were kept in a suppressed state. Therefore, as an advocate of liberalism, Anna insisted on equal opportunities for all in politics, condemned economic inequalities and vehemently opposed caste distinctions. Burke's conservatism made him think that the British Constitution was so sacred that it would not admit of any amendment. As a conservative he showed great respect for the ancient institutions like, monarchy, aristocracy and the church by allowing them to enjoy all their privileges that they had been enjoying from the ancient days. On the other hand, Anna did not believe in conservatism to the extent that Burke believed in. But in so far as Anna had supported the ancient Tamil customs and traditions, like Harvest Festival and the ancient marriage system without priestly interference, it could be said that there was an element of conservatism in Anna. While Anna believed in democracy in the modern sense of the term, Burke believed in a vague sort of democracy, as he did not believe in the principle of equality and did not favour universal suffrage. Anna advocated socialism without which, he believed, liberty and equality were meaningless to the people in democracy. But to Burke, the concept of socialism was

quite alien as socialism in its modern sense came to be known only at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Statesmanship

Both Burke and Anna possessed remarkable Statesmanship. Both of them insisted on magnanimity in dealing with political issues. Burke said, "Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the trust wisdom and a great empire and little minds go ill together"[10] As regards Anna, the principle of magnanimity was well revealed in his statement, *'Matranthotathu Mallikaikum Manam Undu'* (The Jasmine in the opponent's garden also smells sweet) meaning one must learn to appreciate and value the opponent's view when there is truth in it. Burke insisted that the administrators should follow the principle of expediency in settling political problems. Anna expressed the same view in his speech in the Rajya Sabha and insisted that the Indian administrators should bear in mind the principle of expediency while dealing with political issues. Burke's wisdom, the essential requisite of a statesman, enabled him to make some prophetic statements. His warning that Britain would lose the Amercian colonies if it resorted to war against them came ture. So also his prophesy that the establishment of a Republican Government in France through Revolution, discarding old institutions like monarchy and nobility would only lead to anarchy and despotism also came true. Anna, as a true Statesman, had practical wisdom and forethought. It was quite evident when he gave up the demand for Dravida Nadu. He had, as his party's goal, the formation of sovereign Independent Dravida Nadu comprising the southern states with a view to effecting improvement in all fields - political, economic, social and cultural - and putting an end to all economic imbalances that existed between North India and South India. All his speeches and writings were meant to propagate it. But the sudden aggression from India's great neighbour China when India had considered her to be a friend, was a great shock to Anna who, at that time was serving his sentence in Vellore jail for his agitation against rising prices. He immediately issued a statement advising his followers: "In our anger against the congress regime, we should not commit the mistake of slackening our efforts against the foreign invader. We of the D.M.K. consider it our sacred duty to rush to the help of the Indian Government in its efforts to protect and safeguard the sovereignity of our soil."[11] Subsequently the Government of India introduced a Bill debarring any party which pleaded for secession, from contesting the general elections. But Anna, who voluntured to extend co-operation at the time of threat from outside felt the Bill to be a subversive attempt to abridge fundamental rights. He argued that the Bill was undemocratic in nature. However, as a true statesman, without standing on false prestige on account of the above provocative Act, Anna came forward to give up the demand for a separate

Dravida Nadu. He was sure that he could still "win his battle", achieving the objectives of his party through State autonomy within the Indian Union. In this context it is quite understandable that Anna must have also fully realised that an unreliable aggressive neighbour could be a permanent danger to the security of the whole of India and if the country stood divided, it would be suicidal to both the proposed Dravida Nadu and the rest of India. Anna's genuine concern for the security of Indian soil was also well revealed from his statement (above referred to) issued to his party men at the time of Chinese aggression in 1962. And Anna's great statesmanship was also quite evident when he effected an alliance with the opposition leaders at the right moment and won the elections. It is also a mark of his statesmanship that he founded his party on sound principles and gave it a democratic structure and trained his lieutenants so well that they have managed to keep the Dravidian Movement alive, cherishing the principles for whih he stood.

V
Humanism

Definitions and interpretaions of humanism are innumerable. A recent definition of humanism states: "Humanism (is) a system of views based on respect for the dignity and rights of man, his value as a personality, concern for his welfare, his all round development, and the creation of favourable conditions for social life. Humanism is the opposite of fanaticism, regourism, intolerance and disrespect for the views and knowledge of others."[12] Both Burke and Anna believed in humanism in the above sense of the term. Burke advocated catholic emancipation in Ireland where the catholics were put to severe hardships through penal laws. The humanism in Burke made him condemn the cruel acts of Warren Hastings, as Governor General, in India. Warran Hastings unjustifiably conquered Rohilkhand to help the Nawab of Oudh who promised to pay a heavy sum to Hastings and some 20,000 Rohillas were driven out of the country and the soldiers of the Nawab of oudh committed atrocities on the innocent people of Rohilkhand and Rohilkhand was finally annexed to oudh. Another instance of Hastings' cruelty was the affair of Nandakumar, a Brahmin from Bengal. He accused Warren Hastings of corruption. But Nanda Kumar was suddently arrested and committed to prison on a charge of forgery. The Supreme Court found him guilty and he was hanged. It was contended that there was a conspiracy between the Chielf Justice of the Supreme Court and Warren Hastings for effecting the judicial murder. In 1775, Benares was transferred to the company by the Nawab of Oudh who was the overlord of the Rajah of Benares, and consequently the English company became the overlord of Chet Singh the Rajah of Benares. Warren Hastings went on increasing his demand for money from Chet Singh who ultimately refused to pay. Imme-

diately, the Rajah was deposed and his nephew was put in his place. The Nawab Wazier of Oudh owed a lot of money to the English company and he was not in a position to pay. The Nawab pleaded that he would be able to pay the dues only if he could take possession of the treasures that were in possession of his mother and grandmother. Under the direction of Hastings the palace of the Begums was surrounded and the eunuchs, who acted as stewards, were tortured in every possible way and ultimately the Begums were forced to part with the money. With the amount thus secured, Nawab Wazier was able to pay off the debts to the company. Burke as a humanist very strongly condemned the action of Warren Hastings in all the above instances and in the impeachment of Hastings, for which he was the prime mover, Burke spoke as effectively as the causes Warrented him to do, giving a picturesque account of every case he presented. Burke's humanism is also well revealed in his championing the causes of the affected in France on account of the French Revolution. The indiscriminate killing of thousands of nobles and innocent men, besides the King and the Queen, was unbearable to the humanist Burke who justified a war against French Revolution to put an end to their inhuman acts. He said, "the blood of man should never be shed but to redeem the blood of man." Burke also stands distinguished for his charity to the unfortunate emigrants from France. He established a school near Beconsfield for sixty French boys, principally the orphans of Quiberon, and the children of other emigrants from France.[13]

Anna as a humanist took up the cause of the down-trodden and did every thing possible to liberate them from their economically and socially suppressed state. He befriended the suppressed classes. He campaigned vigorously for social justice, social equality and abolition of caste. He criticised the injustice of caste divisions as well as their alleged scriptural foundation called 'Varnashrama Dharma'.[14] To achieve his object of liberating the down-trodden, Anna addressed meetings and wrote in the party's weeklies and dailies with a view to enlightening the under privileged masses. The humanism in him made him fight against social injustice without minding physical sufferings. "As many as eight times he courted imprisonment for the cause in which he sincerely believed."[15] Anna, as a humanist extended help to the individuals who were in adverse circumstances. On knowing that poet Bharathidasan was suffering from poverty, Anna made an appeal to the people for liberal contribution in response to which contributions poured in generously. On a festive occasion he presented a purse of about Rs. 30,000/- to the poet.[16] When N.S. Krishnan and M.K. Thiagaraja Bhagavathar were suffering from poverty after their release from jail, Anna came forward to help them by giving each a story (for a film), which they could utilise as a source of in-

come.[17] Anna also helped another film artiste K.R.Ramasamy, who was in financial difficulties, by arranging for hero's role for him in *Velaikari*. Anna as a humanist never failed to express his great concern even when the individuals in the opposite camp in politics met with any misfortune. He received a great shock when Mahatma Gandhi fell a victim to an assasin's bullet in 1948. He poured out his deepest grief in an article on Gandhi. When the news of the death of Nehru brought another shock to him he said that a great Democrat of India was dead. When Anna met the Pope in the Vatican on his way to the U.S.A. he requested the Pope to use his good offices to release one Ranaday who was a freedom fighter in Goa and who was arrested and kept in prison by the Portuguese Government for a number of years. Pope accepted his request and contacted the Portuguese Government and got Ranaday released.[18] Though Anna opposed Brhaminical traits which he termed as Brhaminism or orthodoxy, he never developed any animosity against any individual Brahmin. He also never failed to appreciate any individual Brahmin when he had done any good service. Speaking at the felicitation function held in honour of T.S.Ramasamy Iyer, a great Social worker, at Madras on 8.9.67, Anna greatly praised his invaluable social service in society and said that T.S.Ramasamy Iyer had showed the way and everybody should follow him.[19] Rich tributes were paid to Anna for his humanism by eminent persons. To quote a few, Prof. N.G.Ranga said, "Mr. Annadurai had devoted the whole of his life to the liberation and uplift of backward classes and the downtrodden. Mr. Annadurai's contribution to the cause of humanism was noteworthy".[20] Sagar Ahluwalia a biographer of Anna says, "Annadurai was a man of wide sympathies and deep humanism with an easy rapport with people."[21]

VI
Conclusion

To conclude, the present study reveals that both Burke and Anna possessed statesmanship of a very high order and though they lived in different countries and in different centuries, they were similar to each other because of their faith in certain basic principles of universal value. Burke's great faith in God, Anna's advocacy of the principle 'One God One Greed', their moral principles, their emphasis on cultural heritages and their faith in liberalism, democracy and humanism are indispensable "universals" for the progress of any human society, western or Eastern, at any period of time. The concept of socialism which is a recent innovation in the economic field and which Anna advocated for the balanced economic progress in society, is certainly indispensable for the progress of human society. While Burke had great faith in conservatism, Anna also had an element of conservatism in him. It can be pointed out that Anna was a reformist and not a radical to completely

disregard the tradition of the past, as in the pastness of the past should lie the roots of the present society, if it should stand on solid foundation. All the above thoughts of both Burke and Anna, being indispensable for the survival of the entire humanity, which is much exposed to all kinds of destructive forces in the modern world, deserve to be ranked as a permanent addition to the existing knowledge that concerns human progress. Just as Burke's prose which carries these thoughts in the best style has been enjoying a unique place in English literature for nearly two centuries, Anna's prose which also embodies these thoughts in the best style has earned a unique place in modern Tamil literature. Anna's Rajya Sabha speeches in English in which some of the above thoughts find place testify to his remarkable proficiency in English.

The study also reveals the uniformity in their inspiring multifaceted personalities. Both Burke and Anna possessed great natural gifts and virtues. Their knowledge was encyclopaedic and they were political geniuses. As writers they were inimitable in style and as orators they were powerful and eloquent. Both were kind-hearted and free from any kind of meanness or selfishness. Both were uncompromising humanists. Though Burke loved show and pomp in personal life, while Anna loved simplicity, Burke was as thoroughly honest[22] as Anna was.[23]

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MANRAM

Nirmal Selvamony

Even today in our villages we could see occasionally a raised platform under a huge tree which serves as a meeting place for the villagers. In ancient Tamil Nadu, it featured almost in every village and was known as *manram*. It served as a recreation club where people gathered either to amuse themselves by engaging in some sport or the other or to chitchat; b) a stage for performing dance/drama; c) a court of law; d) an office of administration; e) a forum to hold logical disputations; f) a school; g) a resting place; h) a dining place and also as i) a place of worship. Like the village tank, well, stream or channel, the common pastues and the common threshing floor, *manram* was a common property of the village.[1] Of all these commons, *manram* is the crucial one for it held together the entire fabric of the village its polity, education, religion, communication/arts, and also economy. Therefore we need to come to grips with the age-old institutions, namely, *manram* in order to understand the traditional south Indian village.

This paper, for the first time, pieces together the bits of information relating to this phenomenon under the following heads: 1) Etymology and meaning; 2) classification; 3) location; 4) structure; 5) uses and 6) history. It is hoped that this present endeavour will be a small step forward in our search for an alternative social order.

1. Etymology

Manram derives from the root *an* - which means 'to approach', 'to touch'; *m + an - man*, to last, to be permanent;[2] *man + tu + a* - manra, certainty; manram, certainty;[3] *manru*, a permanent feature (of a village), a meeting place in a village; *manru + am*, a nominal suffix - *manram*, id.; cf. *man + tu - mantu*, king being one who lasts forever (for he was believed to be god-like); man being one who is entitled to eternal life (*man*, to last + i + *t* + *an* - *manitan*, man).

Manram and Manral

The Tamil word for marriage, *manral*[4] is also closely related to *manram*. It recalls the practice of solemnising the marriage in a *manram* (here, a synonym of *manru*, *manru + al*, a nominal suffix - *manral*, marriage.[5] *Man*, to last + *tu* + *al* - *manral*, certainty, fragrance which

ascertains the blossoming of the bud.

Terms Related to Manram

1. Manru

Manru is a specially demarcated open space, probably closed on all sides, quite akin to what is today known as *patti,* which means cattle pen. It had no special tree associated with it as in the case of *manram.* This is clear from the lines in *Aka* (75:6-8) which say that in the *manru* of the desertic hamlet of the warriors there was no shade other than that of the adjacent hill. Later, when *manru* and *manram* were identified, the tree was also brought into the picture.[6] Opuses which identify both must have originated at a later time when these terms were used interchangeably. Therefore, we must differentiate *manram* from *manru.*

2. Potu

Sometimes *'potu'* is treated as a synonym of manru as in *'potuvil tunkum tannumai,*[7] the drum that hangs in *potu.* Here, *potu* does not mean *'manru'* but "that which is commonly shared by many", a public place (in a village), particularly, a *manram* where the drum is hung.

3. Ampalam[8]

Ampalam is a pillared stone shelter. It may be found here and there even today. It is also wrongly identified with *manram* and *manru.*

4. Potiyil [9]

Often the term *potiyil* is spoken of as a synonym of manram. But they are not. this is evident from passenges in some poems where both are distinctly mentioned: *"manrattu(p) . . . potiyil"*[10] *"potiyilum manramum",*[11] *"manrap potiyilil velliampalattu".*[12]

Moreover, both *potiyil* and *ampalam* are buildings, but manram is not. As *potiyil* was built primarily of perishable material, namely, wood, not even one is found today. Even during the time of the *cankam* poems it began to wither away. It resembled *ampalam* in many respects but preceeded it.

The following meanings are ascribed to *manram* by the *Tamil Lexicon:* 1) hall, assembly 2) court 3) meeting place under a tree, in a village, 6) central place in a battlefield, 7) cow shed, 8) long street, 9) certainty, 10) honesty, 11) scent, 12) house, 13) *Chidambaram. Of these,* 9) 'certainty' is the etymological meaning and 10) 'honesty' being what is permanently, certainly valid and 11) 'scent', being what ascertains the blossoming of a bud, are closely related to 9). Number 3) is the primary meaning of term, and 1) and 2) are some of the ways in which manram is used. Chidambaram, originally, *cirrampalam,* meaning "small *ampalam"* is a very renowned sacred shrine where Siva as Nataraja dances in the *ampalam* of the shrine. When *ampalam* and *manram* were identified, Cirram-

palam (now, Chidambaram) came to be known as *manram* itself. Even as the term 'river' does not mean 'cauvery' neither *ampalam* nor *manram* means Chidambaram.

Sometimes we find a variety of *manram*-s with a huge open space attached to it. It is this open space that was ploughed through by the chariot of the hero (5) (Kur.301); used for riding horses(4)

Manram does not refer to the 'central place in battlefield' (6). In the illustrative passage[13] the term *manram* is said to mean 'battlefield'- by the commr. (See U.Ve.Ca.'s comm.). If we read this passage in the light of the information about *manram*-s in the burial ground at *Pukar* we learn that *manram*-s were sometimes situated in the outskirts of the village. *Manram* mentioned here is one such which lies very close to the battleground and by virtue of this proximity it was also stained by blood.

Again, *manram* is not to be identified with 'cowshed' as in 7). In the illustrative passage[14] cited as an example, *manram* is taken to mean 'cowshed'. Either the reading is manru wherein cattle were penned or some other explanation my be necessary if *manram* is retained.

The meanings 'long street' (8) and 'house' 12) are extremely later ones when the fine semantic distinctions among *potu, manru. manram, ampalam* and *potiyil* were lost in oblivion. However, these meanings arose due to identifying the functions of *manram*, namely, a pathway expecially when a huge open space was part of it, and as a shelter especially for pilgrims -with the phenomenon *(manram)* itself.

2. Classification

Cilap. speaks of five kinds of *manram* at Kaverippumpattinam (Pukar). They are:

1. *Vellitai manram:* This *manram* was near the port. Its deity safeguarded the goods stored in the godown from theft.[15]

2. *Ilanci manram:* The exact location of this manram is not known- near it was the pond *(ilanci)* which cured those who bathed in it.

3. *Netunkal manram:* The exact location of this *manram* is also not knwon. Its deity healed the dizzy, the poisoned, the possessed and those bitten by snakes.

4. *Catukkap putam:* It was located in between Maruvurppakkam and Pattinappakkam. The ascetics who had illicit relationships, the immoral women, the adulterers, those who bore false witness were punished by this deity in order to maintain the moral order of the society.

5. *Pavai manram:* It is not known

where this *manram* was located. Its deity shed tears when injustice was meted out.

Similarly, *Mani.*[16] also mentions five *manrams* in the cremation gound situated to the north of Pukar.[17] The five *manrams* were:

1. *Vakai manram:* Underneath the *vakai* tree of this *manram*, the ghosts congregated.

2. *Vellil manram: Vellil* means 'wood apple tree', so a *manram* with a wood apple tree. Birds of prey, such as the great owl, hawk, eagle and crow perched on the branches of this tree after partaking of the fat and flesh.

3. *Vanni manram:* Under the shade of the *Vanni* tree sat ascetics in deep penance raising sacrificial fire.

4. *Iratti manram:* Yogis with frames reduced by fasting sat stringing garlands out of severed heads under the jujube tree of this *manram.*

5. *Vellitai manram:* The corpse-eaters assembled in this *manram* with open space, and enjoyed the meat that cooked in the cauldron.

Manram-s of the ancient Tamils may be classified on the basis of the traditional notion of region *(tinai).* Accordingly, we may have: *mullai manram, kurinci manram, palai manram, maruta* and *neytal manram.*

Mullai manram: A *manram* of the pastoral region may be called *mullui manram.* It served the sheperds and herdsmen of the region. *Cilap.* 17: *Karuppam*) speaks of the *erumanram* (a paved *manram*) at an *ayarpati* (shepherds clony) wherein Mayon along with his brother Palatevan performed historical dances. A *Kali* poem speaks about the *kuravai* dance performed in a *Manram* of *cirukuti* of this region celebrating both the victory of a *potuvan* (pastoral dweller) at a bullfight and the ensuing wedding which will award him a shepherdess as a prize.

Kurinci manram: A *manram* of the montane region may be known as *Kurinci manram.* It was used predominantly by the montane dwellers. Jack or *venkai* or some such montane tree was its central tree. A poem of *Aka.* (232) shows the inhabitants of this region *(kurāvar)* dancing for joy in one such *manram.* Near another was a huge mountain from which descended a beautiful cascade.[18] Among the hamlets perched on the *hillocks* were *manram*-s. A *Kur.* poem (332:4-6) says that these *manram*-s dotted the paths along which the wild elephants descended the hills. When the hero came to the tryst at night his chariot ploughed through these *manram*-s (Kur.301:5). The young elephant calves also tried to demolish the *manram* when *kuravar* raised a hullaboo in the night.[19] The poet Uraiyur Enicceri Mutamociyar

says that when he sits leaning against the stem of the jack tree in *manram* of the mountain of Vel Ay Antiran and sings the mountains of this chieftain to the accompaniment of his *kinai* even the huge deer will pause to enjoy the music.[20]

Palai manram: Manram of the desertic region may be termed palai *manram*. Hunters and warriors used this manram in which either *vakai* or *vanni* or *vilavu* or *vempu* was the central tree. *Cilap*. (12:5-11) speaks of a huntress named calini who, when possessed, danced ecstatically in *manram* located in the centre of the village where the hunters shared their booty.

Maruta manram: Manram of riverine plains may be known as *maruta manram*. It was favoured by the ploughmen and agriculturists. Fruit trees such as the banyan and mango were preferred to other trees like *marutam* which bore no fruit.

Neytal manram: Manrams in the coastal region may be termed *neytal manrams*. They served, largely, the fisherfolk, navigators and saltmakers who gathered under the *punnai* [21] or the palmyrah palm tree.[22] A poem in *Nar*. (49:8-10) says how the scent of the flowers of *punnai* of the *manram* blended with that of the flowers of *talai* at the frontyard of a coastal house. From this we may infer that *manram* was located very near the house.

3. Location

Ancient Tamil villages (likeother villages elsewhere, perhaps) were built on the basis of a plan handed over traditionally from one generation to another. In this plan fitted *manram*. It was situated either in the centre of the village[23] or in the front part of the village.[24] From evidences from some poems[25] we learn how close *manram* was to the houses.

When villages were ravaged by war, *manram* was abandoned and people dreaded to go anywhere near it.[26] Subsequently, when many such abandoned *manram*-s became a common sight, it was widely believed that the site around *manram* was an inauspicious place for constructing residences.[27]

As the landscape of each of the five regions was unique, the positioning of *manram* in the overall scheme of village layout must have differed in each case.

Today, in the villages, a *manram* is often, said to mark the boundary of the village[28] along with the gardens, hermitage, cremation ground and shops.[29]

A Skt. text on architecture, namely, *Manasara (manam*, measurement; *caru*, essence) was held by the South Indians as a standard work in that area It outlines the general plan of the village. In this plan *manram* finds its place: "Each village is sur

rounded by a wall made of brick or stone...Beyond this wall there is a ditch. . . There are general four main gates at the middle of the four sides and as many at the four corners. Inside the wall there is a large street around the village... Two other large streets are those which run from one gate to another in the middle of the wall on each side. They interesect each other at the centre of the village where a temple or *a hall is generally built for the meeting of the villagers* .....".[30] The hall mentioned here may refer to *manram*.

4. Structure

Often manram had the following components: a) tree b) a raised platform c) an image and d) an open space.

a) Tree

The tree is the most significant part of *manram* so much so that it often took its name from the particular tree which formed part of it - *vakai manram*, *vellil* (wood apple) *manram*, *vanni manram*, *poti manram* and *iratti manram*. The tree of *manram* was native to the region:

in *kurinci*	:	*venkai, pala*
mullai	:	
palai	:	*vakai, vilavu* and vanni
marutam	:	*marutam*
neytai	:	*pennai* (palmyrah), *punnai*.

In most *cankam* poems the central tree of *manram* was often differentiated from other trees of the same variety as *manran palavu*,[31] manra venkai, manra vilavu, manra vempu, manravam punnai, manrap panai.

This tree was considered sacred and so boys were forbidden from climbing them. *Civaka Cintamani* (2574) speaks of a youth who repays his gratitude to banyan tree (underneath which he played as a boy) garlanding it, by raising a *platform* (pitam) around it and granting five hamlets for the sake of maintaining it.

With the rise of huge temples, *manram* was absorbed into them and the central tree became the *tala maram* or sacred tree of the shrine. The central tree was considered so sacred and auspicious that rulers who went to war wore the flowers of this tree (*Pur*.79:2; 76:4-9).

About 15 trees are associated with *manram*-s in *cankam* poems.[32] They are:

1. *al* (*Aka.* 251:8; *Kur.*15:2; *Aka.*287:7)
2. *iratti* (*Pur.* 34:12)
3. *maram* (*Kur.*87:1)
4. *palavu* (*Pur.*128:1)
5. *pennai* (Palmyrah) (*Kur.*177:3)
6. *pinti* (*Cilap.* 10:19)
7. *poti* (*Cilap.* 23:76)
8. *punnai* (*Nar.*49:8)
9. *vakai* (*Mani.* 6:80-83)
10. *vanni* (*Mani.*6:86-87; *Pati.* 44:23)
11. *vellil* (*Mani.*6:84-5)
12. *yempu* (*Pur.* 371:7)

13. *yenkai* (*Kur.* 241:4)
14. *yerppalavu* (*Nar.* 213)
15. *yilavu.* (*Pur.* 181:1-3)

Therapeutic tree of *manram*[33]

The tree of *manram* had healing properties also and in some cases, a tree was chosen to be the central tree for such properties. In fact, even sitting under such a tree and meditating was part of the healing process. It is said that *aracu* which is today the central tree of many *manrams* has such potency as to increase sperm production and to eradicate uterine infections if only the 'patients' would sit under it for about half an hour twice a day, in the morning and evening and practise *pranayama.* During such breathing the chemical compound known as serotonin discharged by the tree enters the lungs and in creases the sperms and cleans the uterus.

Similarly, the trees *nocci* and *pavalamalli* also have similar medicinal potency. Sitting under these trees, one can be rid of headache, and bodyache. By inhaling the air underneath these trees one can be healed.

Again those with blood pressure, excessive body heat, burning sensation and skin diseases may do well to lie or sleep under neem or *punkai* tree.

Evidently, *manram*-s a had a therapeutic role to play in the ancient Tamil village community. The modern notion or 'healing gardens' may be traced back to the therapeutic manram-s of yore.

b. Platform

Beneath the tree was raised stone platform known variously as *turukal,* and later as *yetikai, pitam, varam, metai* and *ampalakkal.* This stone was a black granite which looked like a tusker. It was paved with cowdung and fresh sand was spread on it.

From the existing *manram*-s we could say that these platforms were either square, rectangular or circular in shape and stood about three feet raised from the ground. They either surrounded the tree or were built in front of it. They must have been quite spacious enough to accommodate even large gatherings.

c. Image

In some *manram*-s there was an image of the guardian deity, usually female, known as *pavai.*[34] It is said to be a piece of exquisite workmanship. As it stood in the open its colour faded and it lost its beauty. *Cilap.* describes this female image as one that represented Justice standing with tearful eyes and witnessing mutely all that happened. With flowers *puja* was performed.

5. Uses and Users

Uses:

Manram was put to several uses. Briefly we may mention some of the

important ones.

1a. Council of Elders

Manram was the earliest venue of the village council of elders (known as *canror avai*)[35] which heard cases and transacted other business of the village.[36]

1b. Court of Justice

The court of justice originally met in *manram*.[37] Both civil and criminal cases were tried here.[38] The elders who acted as judges[39] were guided by the code of ethics known as *aram*[40] (*Pur*.34:7) rendered in verse form.

That *manram* functioned as a court of justice is evident from an inscription which mentions the term '*manrupatu*', meaning, 'fine imposed by *manram*,' court of justice.[41] Here, *manru* is used as a synonym of *manram*.

In *manram* where justice was dispensed, there was a female image, namely, *pavai*, said to be the guardian deity of justice. This image was maintained by the womenfolk. When a battle rendered the village desolate *manram* was abandoned and this image weather- beaten.

Cilap. calls the court of Justice at Pukar, *pavai manram* (5:135- 138) wherein the guardian deity of justice[42] was installed. When the king or the judges erred she shed tears but spoke no word. The judges also consulted the compendium of judgements known as *urainul* (*urai*, judgement)

All those with grievances (*kurai, perum*.443), appealed in the court for justice (*murai, Kural*.386). Even disappointed lovers claimed their beloved ones in the law court (*Kali*.139,140). *Manram* ordered the lover to pay a price for the bride he wished to marry (*Nalati*.237).

Some of the heinous crimes were cattle slaughter, abortion, killing teachers. Even these crimes could be redressed but not ingratitude.[43]

The Chola ruler Killivalavan had ordered the sons of his opponent Malayaman to be crushed by the elephant. Just in time, Kovur Kilar a poet interceded on their behalf, drew the attention of Killivalavan to the bewildered look of the victims and saved them from the cruel ordeal. It is said that the boys gazed at the *manru* (as a variant of *manram*) utterly puzzled.[44] This may show that manram not only tried cases but also punished the guilty.[45]

Later didactic works speak of the witnesses in *manram*. *Manram*-s had a sacred power of their own and evoked awe and fear in the witnesses who were summoned. It was believed that a false witness will lose his children; that misfortune will befall anybody who was partisan.

If the elders of a *manram* were

noble men, then the village itself was considered auspicious and eminently habitable.

The courts of justice (*manram*) at Uraiyur[46] (later one of the capitals of Cola Kings) and in Madurai[47] were known for their impartiality.

A commendator observes that *manram*-s of yore maintained records of bio-data of respectable people of the times. Therefore, a heroine asks her confident to accompany her to *manram* where they could inquire about the native town of her hero.[48]

Villlage Councils in Sanskrit Sources

1. *Panchayat: Panchayat* is a "Village council presided over by a committee of five (pancha) which decided village disputes, points of law, caste matters, and rever and state affairs as they touched the village."[49] Usually it is a court of arbitration and compares with Tamil *arankuravaiyam. Panchayat*, a Urdu term derives from Skt. *pancha*, five and Ta. *ayam*; group.

2. *Parishad: Parishad* is an assembly of learned men that debated and settled matters affecting more than one village. Three or more persons who among theses learned who knew the Vedas, Vedangas, Puranas and Itihasas, and were skilled in logic and etymology formed a *parisha*-d. The decision taken by this body on any legal issue was called a *parishada*.[50]

3. *Sabha: Sabha* is a meeting of the Council of Elders usually the heads of the village councils. They decided on public matters.[51]

4. Samiti: Samiti is a general or popular assembly at which princes, elders and people were present. It was sometimes convened in war-time and so had a social as well as political significance.[52]

Special Councils

5. *Sangha: Sangha* is a meeting of a religious congregation: it also refered to the communcity of Buddhist or Jain monks. In the Tamil country it was also applied to the *parishad* or learned assemblies, supposed to be three in number, patronised by Pantiyan kings.[53]

6. *Puga: Puga* is a meeting of a group of traders.

7. *Sreni: Sreni* is an assembly of workers or craftsmen, later applied to the trade guilds.

1c: Council of Debate

The council *(avai)* was not only a forum for administration, but also for logical disputation. Skilled logicians (yatikal) and philosophers (Katciyar)[54] presented their arguments adopting the thirty-two techniques of argument.

2. School

Manram served as a school

also. A poem in *Kur*. (33) speaks of a young student from one such *manram* who was brilliant and noble but lean probably because he partook only of the food he begged.

In later mythology, Siva is said to have taught the means of salvation to select four disciples in a *manram* with a banyan tree. We may also recall how Buddha was enlightened under a tree and probably taught his doctrines in a *manram*.

3. Stage

Manram was one of the earliest stages of the Tamils. If *Kalam* was the prototype of the acting area without any raised stage, *manram* was the one with the raised stage. *Kuttu* or dance/drama was performed on *manram*-s. Some of the favoured dance forms were *kuravai* and *taluvu*. *Cilap*. (17.5) speaks of staging of *vala caritai* (history of youth) plays in *manram* of the shepherd settlement in which none other than Mayon (deity of the pastoral region) himself played a part.

Music was also performed here. A musician known as *akavalan* sang the praises of the chieftain in *manram* and later in the streets of the village.

4. Place of Worship[55]

Although no image other than *pavai* was installed in *manram*, people frequented it for performing *puja*. The *puja* articles consisted of select flower, rice and toddy. It is said that after offering these articles the worshipper called the crows and ghosts to come and partake of them.[56] A *Nar*. poem (293) shows how an old potter did so after offering (his *pali*, sacrifice). We may surmise that puja was offered to *pavai*, the guardian deity of Justice.

5. Wedding Hall

Marriages were solemnised under the central tree of *manram* and so, marriage itself was known as *manral*.[57] To the sound of marriage drums (*manapparai*)58 the man and woman sitting underneath the central tree were united in marriage.[59]

6. Arena for Festivals

During festivals, flowers were strewn all over the streets and artistes known as *kotiyar* played on their *mulavu* (drum) and *yal* (stringed instrument).[60] Probably then *manram* was beautifuly decorated also.

7. Playground

Children used *manram* as a playground. Boys stood under the shade of the *iratti* (jujube?) tree and shot arrows into the adjoining thicket while playing at bow and arrow. The children of fisherfolk ate roasted prawns, field tortoise, wore the flowers of *atampu* creapers and water lily (*ampal*) and sat around and watched either ram fight or *bird fight*.[62] According to the commentator

comasuntaranar *manram* was the venue of bullfight (*eru taluvutal*) in the pastoral region.[63]

8. Shelter

Manram was the most ancient type of public shelter which preceded even *ampalam*,[64] and the later *cattiram, cavati* and *matam*. It served as an important aid to the ancient travellers, especially those who went on foot. Poems speak of itinerant musicians, dancers and acrobats resting in these *manram*-s during their passage.[65] Warriors,[66] mendicants,[67] and even robbers[68] and madmen[69] took shelter here.

9. Dining Place

Manram is also the forerunner of *uttuppurai*[70] (feeding house), *attilcalai*,[71] *mataippalli*,[72] kitchen of a temple or *cattiram*[73] or *tavalam*[74] or rest house wherein travellers came to dine a meal or two as they passed through.[75] In the arid region, the hunters shared their meal in the *manram* which was in the centre of their hamlet.

10. Was *Manram* Common Pasturage?

According to Dikshitar, *manram*" was the common pasturage of the village where cattle were allowed to graze."[76] Both the illustrative passages[77] he cites do not support this idea; in deed, the passages speak of *manru* and not *manram*.

Users:

In the ancient Tamil (*tinai*) society, there was no discrimination against women as it was a little later. Outside home, women had several roles in public life - *manram* was one such important arena. Like her, *manram* was also a symbol of auspiciousness and so when she became a widow she stayed away from it. It was also a favourite spot for the children to engage in all kinds of sport. Besides the villagers, travellers and pilgrims also favoured this public resort.

Maintenance

Originally *manram* was deemed a very auspicious part of the village. When the village was peaceful and prosperous its *manram* throbbed with life. In times of (foreign) aggression, manram was a sure target of the aggressor.[78] Often he ravaged it and according to a poem in *Patirruppattu* he ploughed it with asses.[79] It was no more paved,[80] but left desolate.

Such a significant phenomenon deserved proper maintenance and it was the women who showed special interest in it. They paved it with cowdung, spead fresh sand all over. During special occasions probably it was decorated with festoons, full pots, *pavai* lamps, areca bunches, banana, sugarcane and flowers of varied hue.

Only women whose husbands were alive looked after the upkeep, widows did not.[81]

It is difficult to set forth clearly the maintenance economics of man-ram-s during the *tinai* age.[82] But when monarchy was established some resources from villages were ear-marked for their upkeep. *Civaka.*[83] speaks of allocating five villages for the maintenance of a newly made *manram* around a banyaan tree.

6. History

1. *Manram* in *Tinai Society*

By *'tinai society'* we mean the ancient, classical Tamil society which was based on the social order namely, *tinai*, which preceeded the caste based order and monarchic polity. Most part of this paper describes *manram* of this soeity. We may summarily state that the village institution, namely, *manram* of *tinai* societies combined various functions, political (judicial and administrative) religious, philosophical, educational, recreational and aesthetic besides boarding and lodging. During this time, each of the five regions had its *manram-s*. *Cankam* poems make special mention of *manram-s* of some towns like Uraiyur and Madurai.

2. *Manram* Enters Palace in Monarchist society

With the emergence of monarchy, *tinai* polity lost importance. The palace absorbed most of the village institutions including *manram*. Such functions of *manram* as jurisprudence, administration, debate; worship, play/music performance and feeding people now became separate ancillary units within the palace. These institutions must have been supported by the resources from the village attached to the palace known as *aranmanaip parru.*[84] Slowly *manram* lost its original significance and its native institutions like the councils and theatre acquired an unenviable glamour which the new upper classes lent it.

3. *Manram* as *Sangha* During the Buddhist and Jain Age:

The Buddhist and Jain monks formed a communicty known as *Sangha.* The scholars among them were often engaged in doctrinal disputations solitary spots for study and meditation.

Post-*cankam* Tamil works speak of three *cankam-s* in which the Tamil canon was formulated. Here, *cankam* is a Tamil form of the Sanskrit word.[84] However this institution which met at *manram* was indigenous and was knwon by Tamil names such as *avai* and *kutal.*[85]

When Buddhism and Jainism (circa. 300 B.C.) were popular, Tamil *manram (avai)* came to be known through Buddhist/Jain terminology, namely, *sangha.* This may be borne out by the following points: 1) "Trees were often associated with the *kevala* or *caityas* of *Tirthankaras* and often the tirthankara was associated with a specific kevala tree". For example, Pintiyan, "one of the *pinti* (asoka) tree" a *tirthankara* known as Adi Jinendra was associated with the *pinti*

tree. "Similarly, the *punnaka* tree became a kevala tree in Karnataka following its adoption as a status symbol by a monastic order *Punnakavrkasamula gana*,"[87] Probably, a branch of the *Yapaniya sangha*. The *Uttaradhyayana*, a medieval work states that the monks should stay in a deserted house, burial ground or under a tree in order to avoid all those faults which violate the spirit of mankhood."[88]

Not only to refrain from evil, but also to obtain enlightenment did the Buddha sit under the peepul tree for forty-nine days until he discovered the secret of sorrow.[89]

The tree shrines of the Buddhists are known as *rakka-chaitya (vriksha-chaitya or chaitya-vriskshas)* and those around the *Bodhi* tree are called *Bodhi-gharas*. These tree shrines were kept clean by purifying with scented water, by spreading clean sand around their bases known as *varam* (a platform). *Cilap*. mentions one such tree shrine, known as *poti manram* at Tiruttankal in the Panti country.

Mani. a Buddhist work speaks of the heroine Manimekalai as staying at a *manram* after disguising herself.[90] In doing so, she was abiding by the monastic code of conduct. In the same *manram* Kancanan (alias Viccataran) hid himself.[91] The same work speaks of five *manram*-s mentioned earlier. *Cilap*. also mentions five similar *manram*-s also mentioned earlier.

4. *Manram* Enters Temple During Saivite and Vaishnavite Age

During the age of the Pallavas, Saivism and Vaishnavism rose as strong movements in Tamil Nadu. They centred around temple worship. and it was at this time that huge structural stone temple complexes were built. Such temple was a sacred adaptation of the earlier secular palace. This is evident in the new interpretation of earlier terminology - secular words taking on a sacred meaning. For example, *iraivan* which originally meant 'leader', 'king,' now menat 'god';. *'koyil'*, palace, now, 'house of god', 'temple'.

Now the temple incorporated the institutions of *manram*. Lands attached to the temple must have supported these instituions. The council of debate of *manram* now became the *vakkanikkum mantapam*[92] where disputations on the doctrines were held. Similarly, in the *vyakarna mantapam* of the temple, scholars, gathered to recite scriptures and discuss them. The *pnartana mantapam*[93] was the stage within the temple and the *vattiya mantapam*,[94] the music hall. Separate *kalyana mantapam*[95] and *uttuppurai* were erected in some temples.

We may also note that the central tree of *manram* became *talamaram* (Shrine tree) of the temple.

5. *Manram* During the British and post-British Age

With the rise of the secular social order under the foreign rule, the

temple gradually lost its hold over the Tamil society. The government bureaucratic machinery slowly took control over land and administration and rendered the autonomous village republics dependent.

As a result, the institutions housed within the temple were brought outside and left orphaned and effete. Music halls and theatres were built wherever moneyed merchants pleased to do so. Debates and disputations were no more confined to *manram* or *pattimantapam* of palaces and *vak-kanikkum mantapam* of temples, but were held in any ad hoc forum wherever possible. The government courts of law and collectorates have taken over the function of *manram* as the court of justice or the court of law in the palace. Travellers' bungalows, public choultries, inns, hotels, tourist rest houses, railway passenger rest rooms have replaced *manram* as shelter or *matam* adjoining temples.

Manram - Ethnographic Evidence

Ilankulam Kunnanpillai tells us that among the Nayars of Kerala, *manram*-s and *manram* meetings persisted until the 17th century.[97]

Onomastic Evidence

Kunnaanpillai also reveals that one could still find households calling themselves some *mannam* or the other; all these were places where there were *manram*-s in the past.

Inscriptional Evidence

The Tiruvalankatu plates of Rajendra Cola I (1020 AD) record the grant of the village Palaiyanur to the temple of Mahadeva at tiruvalankatu as *tevatanam*. Among the constituent part of the village one finds the word *manru* which was wrongly translated by the epigraphist as 'open fields'. Appadorai explains why. "The sense open fields does not seem to suit the context, as wet land and dry lands have already been mentioned, and the phrase 'open fields' does not connote any distinctive sense. The word *manru* . . . . may be connected with *manram* which is explained . . . as "the open platform under a tree where all people of a village meet together"[98] This interpretation has also been adopted by Subramania Iyer in his *Historical Sketches*, p.359."[99]

Manram Today

Even today one may find the vestiges of *manram* here and there in the villages. C.P. Venkatarama Ayyar wrote in the first decade of this century that these *manram*-s could be seen in several villages and towns in the Madras Presidency even today and that in Mayavaram "there is now a locality known as *Mavadi Medai* or the platform round the foot of mango tree"[100] *Manram* continues to be the venue of certain rituals like *urnip-ponkal, callikkattu*[101] which are not absorbed into the mainstream life. Despite the loss of patronage, and the subverting of the village republics,

manram stands like its *pavai*) a mute witness to all that we have done to her to render her powerless and voiceless.

FOOTNOTES

1. C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under thePallavas,* Madras: university of Madras, P.155.

2. Rev. S. Gnana Prakasar, *An Etymological and Comparative Lexicon of the Tamil Language*, Vol.1., 1938 p.183.

3. *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. v.p. 3127.

4. *Tol.* III.3.2:4

5. *Manral Venkaik Kiliruntu/manam nayantanan, Kali.*41:43-44; *manram Karanka manapparai ayina, Nalatiyar* 23:1

6. *manrirum pennai, Kali.* 129:12.

7. *Pura.* 89:7, Avvai Turaicamippillai's comm.

8. For a detailed description of it see my *"Ampalam", Madras Christian College Magazine,* 1989-90, pp.103-7.

9. For an elaborate account of it see my paper *'Potiyil'*. (unpublished)

10. *Aka.* 377:6-10; 373:2-4.

11. *Mani.* 21:122

12. *Cilap. Pati.* 39-43.

13. *Patiruppattu* 35:8

14. *Kuru.* 64.

15. *Cilap.* 5:111-17.

16. 6;82-91.

17. Mayilai Cini Venkatacami, *"Canka Kalattuk* Kavirippumpattinam", *Canka Kalattut Tamilaka varalarril cila ceytikal,* Annamalai: Annamalai University, 1970, pp. 145-47.

18. *Nar.* 213.

19. *Kur.* 346.

20. *Pur.* 374

21. *Nar.* 49:8-10

22. *Nar.* 303:1-6

23. Cilap. 12:9-13; *Tiru.* 226, Nacc. comm.; *Mani.* 1.50, U.Ve.Ca.comm.;

24. *Aka.* 103:5-8; *Pur.* 254.

25. *Pur.* 181:1-3; *Nar.*49:8-10

26. *Patir.* 13:16-18; 25;35:6-10;

27. *Cirupanc.* 47:3-4. It may be pointed out that the text mentions only *manru* and not *manram*. But at the time when this text was composed both terms were used synonymmously.

28. Arivudai Nambi and Anbarasan, "Village Squares in Tamil Nadu", *Madras Christian College Magazine*, 1990, p.14.

29. Vai. Ganapathy, "*uramaippuk kalai*", *Kaiyetu*. p.229.

30. Appadorai. *Economic Conditions in Southern India* (1000-1500 A.D.), University of Madras, 1936,pp.83-84.

31. Ramachandra Dikshitar inverts the phrase *manrappalavu* as *Palamanram* (and a few other similar phrases) to prove his point that *manram* was known by the name of the particular tree. See his *Studies in Tamil Literature*. Madras:Kalakam, 3rd ed., 1983, pp.224.

32. Ramachandra Dikshitar says, "Four kinds of trees are mentioned as relating to a *manram*. In fact the *manram* takes its name from the particular tree under which it is located. These are *Irattimanram* (jujube), *vilamanram* (wood apple). *palamanram* (jack) and *veppamanram* (margosa). This does not mean that only under these trees were the *manrams* held..." (*ibid.*, p.224)

33. The information under this head is taken from an article "*marattati cikiccaikal*", *Mulikaimani*, Aug.-Sept.1991,p.7; it is widely, believed that if a sterile woman circumambulated an *aracu* tree she would become fertile.

34. *Aka.*157:11-14.

35. Skt. *Sabha* derives from Ta. *avai.* See my "*Ca*-Initial words in Tamil", *Journal of Asian Studies*, Sept. 1989, 137-148.

36. The Kosar for instance, are said to have met in manram under the banyan tree to discuss common matters. Aka. 251-10.

37. C.P. Venkatarama Ayyar, *Town Planning in Ancient Dekkan*, Madras: Law printing House, n.d., p.141, Dikshitar, *ibid.*, pp.218, 224; K.K.Pillai, *A social History of the Tamils*, Madras: University of Madras, 2nd ed.., 1975, p.321.

38. Dikshitar, *op.cit.*, p. 218

39. Dikshitar claims that these judges were "of the Brahmana community. What Dr. Jayaswal has remarked about the Brahmana judge of Hindu Administration will be equally applicable to the Tamil Administration. He says:

"Law proper and Law ecclesiastical in administration tended to unite into one and unite in the hand of the Brahmana judge. And the Brahmana was fairly above the influence of the king." (*op.cit.*, p.218). This claim is unfounded for 1. no evidence has been adduced to substantiate it; 2. What Dr. Jayaswal had said might apply to the monarchic age when polity was caste-based, whereas here we are dealing with the pre-monarchic times when the society was organised on the basis of *tinai*, not caste and 3. the leaders of the tribal society were noble men, not necessarily from among the upper class of the society. See *Tol.* III. 1. 23; In fact Dikshitar himself admits that the elders were *kilar* who pursued their hereditary professions, (*op.cit.*, p.224). and 4. N. Subramaniam in his *Sangam Polity* affirms that the judicial *avai* was not necessarily Brahminical. (p.192).

40. *Pur.*34;7; again, Dikshitar holds that these judges were guided by "*Dharmanul*, and as *nul* is *sastra*, the *dharmannul* may be some *Dharmasastra* ...". In fact his illustrative passage in *Pur.* 34:7. mentions only the term *aram* and not *dharma;* cf. *Cilap.* 5: 135: "*aram kuru avaiyam,*" court which mainatained the code of ethics.

41. "*Im manrupatu iruttum . . . muttamai celuttinom*" (S.I.I. III, 95, 35).

42. C.P. Venkatarama Ayyar, *op.cit.*p.141.

43. *Pur.* 34;1-7.

44. *Pur.* 46.

45. T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, University of Madras, 1955, p. 337.

46. *Pur.* 220.

47. *Matu.* 489-92.

48. *Nar.* 365.

49. Benjamin Walker, *Hindu World*, Vol.II, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1968, pp.226.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-27

51. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

52. *Ibid.*, 227

53. *Mani.* 7:114; *Periyapuranam*, *Murtti.*7; *Nalvali*, Invocation; *Tiruvilai. Tarumikku.* 82; *Tiruvalluva.* 15,4.

54. *Katci* means 'philosophy'. See my paper "*Meypporuliyala Katciyiyala?*, *Madras Christian College Magazine*, 1991-92 pp.

55. C.P.Venkataraman Ayyar, *Ibid.*, p.139.

56. This custom persists even today. Usually crows frequent the places of worship for having their share. In North INdia there are shrines were monkeys also enjoy this privilege. At Thirukkalukkunram, eagle is the favoured bird; unless it came down to claim its share the *puja* was not deemed complete.

57. ". . . . and the marriage was celebrated in the PUblic Hall or *manram*," N. Subramanian, *Sangam polity*, Madurai: Ennes Publi cations, 1980, p. 193.

58. *Nal*. 23;

59. *Kali*. 41:43-4;

60. *Patti*. 252-5.

61. *Pur*. 325.

62. *Patti*. 59-77; C.P. Venkataraa Ayyar, *Ibid*., p. 151.

63. *Pur*. 325. comm.

64. See may paper *'Ampalam'*, *Madras Christian College Magazine*, 1989-199, pp. 03-7.

65. *Aka*. 301: 23-4.

66. *Pati*. 25:4.

67. *Pur*. 128: 1-4

68. *Aka*. 103:5-8;

69. *Palamoli*; 119.

70. *Taml Lexicon*, vol.1.p. 493.

71. *Mani*. 20:7

72. *Cilap*. 21:5; *Kallatam* 23:37; c.f. *cankamataippali*, a sub caste who were cooks for minister, *Tamil Lexicon*.

73. *Cilap*. 5:180, Arumpata. comm.

74. See Ku. Tamotaran, *Tamilnattuc Cattirankal*, Madras: Manivacakar Patippakkam, 1988, pp. 8-9.

75. *Parum*. 143; *Cilap*. 12: 9-13.

76. *Studies in Tamil Literature*, p. 224.

77. *Aka* 14; *Bur*. 387.

78. That battles were largely responsible for exodus and the consequent desolation of *manram* is evident from *Aka*. 157: 10-14: *munai pulam peyartha pullen manrattu*

79. 25:4.

80. *tatu eru marutta. . . . . manram*, *Pati*. 13.

81. *Pur*. 373.

82. Refers to the pre-caste Tamil Society when *tinai* was the prevelent Social order. See my, "An Alternative Social Order", *Value Education Today*, eds.,

J.T.K. Daniel, Nirmal Selvamony, MCC and AIACHE, 1990, pp. 215-236.

83. 2574.

84. Tevaneyap Pavanar, *A comprehensive Etymologicl Dic. of the Tamil Language*, 1985, p.318.

85. Which indeed is traceable to the Ta. root *aku*, to bend.

86. K.K.Pillai, *op.cit.*, p.93; in 470 AD *Tiravita Cankam* was founded at madurai by Vajra nandi to promote Jainism.

87. Ramendra Nath Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan* (600 to 1000 AD), Motilal Banarsidass, 1973, p.44.

88. *Ibid.*, p.44.

89. Monica Felton, *Down the Ages*, Book 6, Macmillan, 1971, p.3.

90. 19:30-1.

91. *Mani.* 20: 71-81.

92. Na. Vanamamalai shows how the Big temple at Tanjore built at the time of Raja Raja I (985 AD-1014 AD) maintained these institutions by means of temple grants in his *"Tancaik koyilin celavun nila varuvayum"*, *Araycci*, Jan. 1974, pp. 119-132.

93. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p.196.

94. Both found in the Big Temple at Tanjore.

95. Both found in the Big Temple at Tanjore.

96. As in Varadaraja Temple at *Kancheepuram.*

97. *Pantaiya Keralam*, Madras: Tamilp Puttakalayam, 1970, pp. 159- 60.

98. *Economic Conditions in Southern INdia*, 1000-1500 AD., University of Madras, 1936, p.75.

99. *Ibid.*

100. *Op.cit.* p.150.

101. Arividai Nambi and Anbarasan, *"Village Squares in Tamil Nadu"*, *Madras Christian College Magazine*, 1990, pp. 14-15.

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MAHA YUGA, MAGHA CYCLE AND SAPTHA RISHI CYCLE - AN IMPORTANT YARD STICKS OF ASTRONOMY

K.P.Ramadurai

Maha Yuga (Sadhur Yugas)

The positions occupied by all planets including Uranus, Neptune, Pluto and also the planets which to be discovered in due course, are correctly the same after 12160 sidereal years.

This period of 12160 sidereal years is called by our Indian sages as one Maha yuga. As per my calculations one Maha yuga does not exceed 4441516 days.

This Maha yuga is divided by four yugas as mentioned below:-

Name of yugas	yugas years	Yuga Sandhi years	Total yuga years	Total No. of days	Cycle of 19 sl. years
1. Kretha yuga	4800	64	4864	1776606	256
2. Thretha yuga	3600	48	3648	1332455	192
3. Dwapara yuga	2400	32	2432	888303	128
4. Kali yuga	1200	16	1216	444152	64
Total	12000	160	12160	4441516	640

After 500 A.D. our Purana makers have told the ordinary yuga years inVishnu Purana as Devamana years omitting the 160 yuga sandhi years.

Hence our astronomers have taken the total number of days as ordinary years at the rate of 360 days per Devamana year.

This may be a purana makers fancy; just like Dasaratha having 3000 wives had no children up to 60000 years and Lord Rama ruled for 11000 years after Ravana's death.

Further they have told in Puranas, 1000 Maha yugas for a day of Brahma and the next 1000 Maha yugas for a night of Brahma instead

of noting it correctly as one Maha yuga for a day of Brahama and the next one Maha yuga for a night of Brahma.

Only because of this, our very important works by Valmiki's Ramayana and Vyasar's Mahabharatha were considered fictitious and the heroes there in Lord Rama and Lord Krishna were considered to be imaginary heroes.

Magha Cycle

One Magha cycle is 160 sideral years. And the measures of 160 sl years, 1979, lunations and 2139 sl period of Moon are found to be the same without any differences. Hence we are able to calculate every year in Tamil months, the Full Moon days with Chittirai, Chitra; Vaikasi Visa kam, Thai Pusam; Masi Magam and Panguni Uthiram without any mistake.

If the three measures noted above in a Magha cycle are different, it will not be possible to relate the full Moon days of each Tamil months with the concerned stars.

Hence it follows without any doubt that our ancient sages had this 150 sl years equal to one Magha cycle as an astronomical yeard stick.

One Magha cycle of 160 sl years is the period beginning with the first day of Tamil month kumbha Masi having Magha Sukla Pradama i.e., first day of bright half of Magha month with mid point of Sravishta Nakshatra (Avittam star) and ending with last day of Tamil month Makara Thai having Pousha Amavasya i.e., the last day of dark half of Pousha month.

This shows that Magha cycle starts with one Thithi and one Nakshatra (star) and concludes another set and begins again on the same farmer set.

The word "Magha" in Magha cycle means Luni solar Magha month and docs not mean Magha star.

This is what our Maha Rishis have called the Magha cycle. One Magha cycle does not exceed 58441 days as per my calculations. Magha cycle is different from Saptha Rishi cycle.

Saptha Rishi Cycle

Saptha Rishi Mandala goes backward in each star towards North pole and Angirs stars at the rate of 81 sl years ie., approximately 1002 lunations. But all astronomers took this value wrongly as 100 years.

The years 853 AD and 3040 AD are the 1st year of Aswathi star to Saptha Rishis.

Indian and Western astronomers took the sidereal measure in different values. All values are longer than the actual value.

Even the Nautical Almanac is more than my value by 9.713 seconds in one sidereal year.

The first almanac was framed by the Saptha Rishis during the reign of Emperor Vaivaswatha Manu. It is mentioned in Vedanga Jyotisha that the beginning of the year was fixed as the beginning of the Sarad Ruthu i.e., the first day of bright half of Magha month. The day was Bruhuvaram (Friday) on the 1st day of Tamil month kumbha Masi. On that day the Sun and the Moon were together at the middle of Sravishta Nakshatra (Avittam star) ie., the 300th degree of the present Indian zodiac.

The unit of time was five Luni Solar yeras called a Yuga. In one yuga there are 62 lunations or luni solar months and again one yuga- 67 lunar sidereal months. The period of 32 yugas is called Magha cycle.

The names of the 5 years are Samvatsara, Parivatsara, Idovatsara Anuvatsara and Udavatsara.

These are the sources to determine all astronomical datas of Epics and Ithihasas as well as to rebuild our Indian History.

From these, we have to come to the conclusion that as told in our Vedas and Puranas, Lord Rama and Lord Krishna were actually born in our land and were leaders of the people in their respective times.

I have given hereunder the measures of various scales which I have calculatd according to our Indian traditions.

Value Fixed by me

One Sidereal year: 365.25625 days
One Lunation : 29.530571 days
One Sidereal period of Moon : 27.32164563 days

Real Vedic Calendar

12 Lunations with one adhimasa 13 Lunations	1.Luni Solar year
5 Luni Solar years	: 1. Vedanga Jyotisha yuga
32 Vedanga Jyotisha yugas	: 1. Magha cycle (160 sl years)

(27 yugas of 62 lunations 5 yugas of 61 lunations = 1979 lunations)

Hence 160 luni solar years = 160 sidereal years.

76 Magha cycles : 1. Maha yuga (12160 sl years) ie., Sadhur yugas Kretha, Thretha Dwapara and Kali.

1. Maha yuga (12160 sl years) the next = Day of Brahma

1. Maha yuga (12160 sl years) = Night of Brahma
2. Maha yugas (24320 sl years) = One full day of Brahma

The positions of all planets and the procession of equinoxes Coincide once in 24320 sl years.

Hence this period of 24320 sl years must be a cycle of Reincarnation.

Rate of Precession Fixed by me

1 year	: 53.28947368 "
1 degree	: 67.55555555 sl years
13 1/3 degrees	: 900.7407404 "
30 degrees	: 2026.666666 "
180 degrees	: 12160 "
360	: 24320 "

The precession of equinoxes is a constant one. But all Indian and Western Astronomers took different values.

As per my Calculations all planets take the following days to revolve round the Sun.

Sl.No.	Name of the Planets	No. of days to each Planet	No. of Cycles in 12160 sl years	In years
1.	Pluto	90643.18367	49	248.163
2.	Neptune	60020.48648	74	164.324
3.	Uranus	30631.14482	145	83.862
4.	Saturn	10754.27602	413	29.443
5.	Raghu	6791.308868	654	18.593
6.	Jupiter	4333.186341	1025	11.863
7.	Mars	687.0094354	6465	1.88
8.	Earth	365.25625	12160	1.00
9.	Venus	224.7730769	19760	0.6153
10.	Mercury	87.96823133	50490	0.2408
11.	Moon	27.32164563	162564	0.0748
	Hally Comet	27934.06289	159	76.47798742

These are the positions in which our solar family is rotating the universe. When misrule and lawlessness attain supermacy in the world, God comes to Earth once in 1216 sl years to check them.

All planets join together in the same positions on 26.9.15265 B.C. Thursday, 11.12.3105 B.C. Saturday and 4.5.9057 A.D. Monday as mentioned below (Indian Zodiac).

Pluto 350^0 Uranus 350^0			Kethu 82^0
Venus 330^0 Jupiter 312^0	Rasi Chart		
Mercury 295^0 Mars 295^0 Sun 286.5^0 Moon 286.5^0			
Neptune 262^0 Saturn 262^0 Rahu 262^0			

Hence the period of 12160 sl years from 27.9.15265 B.C. Friday to 11.12.3105 B.C. Saturday is called Vaivaswatha Manu astronomical Maha yuga. After 50 lunations from that, the period of 12160 sl years from 13.10.15261 B.C. Friday having Magha sukla Pradama with Sravishta (Avittam star) ie., the first day of Bright half of Magha month to 27.12.3101 B.C. Saturday having Pousha Amavasya ie., the last day of dark half of Pousha month is called Vaivaswatha Manu Vedanga Jyotisha Maha yuga.

Current Maha yuga

Astronomically	As per Vedanga Jyotisha
12.12.3105 B.C. Sunday to 4.5.9057 A.D. Monday	28.12.3101 B.C. Sunday to 20.5.9061 A.D. Monday.

Lord Rama was born on 17.1.10205 B.C. Monday having Punarpusam star with Chaithira Sukla Ashtami then Navami Thithi on the 6th day of Mesha Chittirai in Taml year Nala in Thretha yuga of Vaivaswatha Manu Maha yuga started from 13.10.15261 B.C. Friday having Magha sukla Pradama ie., the first day of bright half of Magha month with mid point of Sravishta Nakshatra (Avittam star) on the first day of Tamil month Kumbha Masi in Sarad Ruthu in the beginning of luni solar years Samvatsara, the first of Vedanga Jyotisha five years cycle.

Lord Krishna was born on 23.7.3185 B.C. Wednesday having Badrapada bahula ashtami thithi with Rohini star on 24th day of Tamil month Avani in Nala year in Kaliyuga of Vaivaswatha Manu Mahayuga.

Hence Lord Krishna was the Avatar of Kaliyuga and not the Avatar

of Dwapara Yuga as told in mutilated Puranas written by our Purana makers after 500 A.D.

Mahabharatha War took place on 29.10.3139 B.C. Friday having Karthika New Moon day with Kettai then Moolam star on the first day of Tamil month Margazhi.

Bheeshma's demise took place on 3.1.3138 B.C. Monday having Magha Sukla Ashtami with Rohini star at Mid night on the 8th day of Tamil month Kumbha Masi in the beginning of Sun's northward journey (Uthrayana).

After 12160 sl years, the birth of Lord Rama took place on 18.4.1956 AD Wednesday in the very same positions of all planets as they were on 17.1.10205 B.C. Monday.

Now we are living in Thretha yuga of current Maha yuga and not in Kaliyuga of Vaivaswatha Manu Maha yuga.

The present running Kaliyuga is fixed from 25.2.3101 B.C. Tuesday the first day of Tamil month Mesha chittirai in Vikrama year by our Siddhanta astronomers who lived after 500 AD. according to mutilated Puranas.

Now we are living in 17251st year Saptha Rishi Era of Vaivaswatha Manu. This year is to end with 12.2.1992 A.D. Wednesday.

The prevelent unlawfulness, arrogance and violence throughout the world and the movement of all planets towards10.4.1994 AD., Sunday having Phalguni Amavasya indicate a major conflict, earthquakes, cyclones and floods causing loss of human lives in the world.

This may be the will of god to reduce the population which increases day by day now.

If we refuse to accept the facts stated above it amounts to disregard our Vedas, Puranas, Ithihasas and also the History of our ancient Bharath. It is widely known that India is a country of an ancient Civilization and its heritage cannot be ruled out.

For India is the birth place of civilizaiton among the people in the whole world.

Note

All years divisible by 4 are leap years and not divisible by 4 are ordinary years in B.C. From 1.1.1 A.D. Monday the present gregorian method (New style) is adopted.

From	To		
13.10.15261 B.C. Friday	31.12.1 B.C. Sunday	=	5573795 days
1.1.1. A.D. Monday	12.2.1992 A.D. Wed.	=	727240 days
13.10.15261 B.C. Friday	12.2.1992 A.D. Wed.	=	6301035 days

365.25625 x 17251 = 6301035.568 days.

17.1.10205 B.C. Monday to 18.4.1956 A.D. Wed. = 12160 sl. years.

Variations between Sidereal Years, Lunations and Sidereal Periods of Moon

Sidereal years		Lunations		Sidereal periods of Moon	
Sl Years A	Total no. of days	Lunations B	Total no. of days	Sl. period of Moon C	Total No. of days
3	1095.76875	37	1092.631127	40	1092.865825
5	1826.28125	62	1830.895402	67	1830.550257
8	2922.05	99	2923.526529	107	2923.416082
19	6939.86875	235	6939.684185	254	6939.69799
35	12783.96875	433	12786.73724	468	12786.53015
141	51501.13125	1744	51501.31582	1885	51501.30201
152	55518.95	1880	55517.47348	2032	55517.58392
160	58441.000	1979	58441.000	2139	58441.000
3040	1110379.000	37601	1110379.000	40641	1110379.000
12160	4441516.000	150404	4441516.000	162564	4441516.000
		223	6585.317333		
		12	354.366852		
		13	383.897423		

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RURAL ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS - WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO A TRIBAL AREA IN TAMIL NADU

D. Dhanapal and R. Rajamohan

Introduction

Of late, the term 'rural energy' has been used in energy studies and energy planning disucussion. What does it mean? First of all what is 'energy'? What was the origin of the term? The term 'energy' was originated from the Greek word 'energia' meaning 'Capacity to do work'. the term is reported to have been coined and applied in science by Thomas Young (1773-1829) (Dayal, M. 1983).

Now let us be clear about the meaning of 'rural energy'. The term 'rural energy' may be defined as:

i) the energy used for various activities in rural areas (or)

ii) the energy derived from the rural areas (or)

iii) the energy derived from and used in the rural areas (or)

iv) the energy derieved from rural or urban or both the areas but used in the rural areas.

The first three definitions given above have been mentioned in a rural energy study done by a Nigerian geographer (Adejuwon, J.O. 1985). However, in the rural areas of many developing countries, the energy derieved from both the rural and urban areas are used. For instance, in Indian villages, electricity generated in towns as well as firewood derived from the rural areas are used. Therefore, the authors of the present study, have formed a definition of 'rural energy' (see the 4th definition) which is different from the first three definitions given by the Nigerian author. It is more appropriate to use the fourth definition in the Indian context. Hence the fourth definition is used in the present study.

Energy and environment are interrelated because the energy is derived from the sun and natural resources. We derive coal energy, nuclear energy and other types of energy from the natural resources. By disturbing the environment we derive all types of energy. For instance, to get the enrgy, firstly, we mine certain natural resources. That time we disturb the environment. Secondly, to get the energy we also burn some natural resources (for example, to get

electrical energy we burn the coal). That time also by polluting the air, we disturb the environement. So, in one way or the other to get the energy we pollute the air, contaminate the water and degrade the land and forests. Similarly to get the energy for various activities of the rural population, the rural environment is degraded.

Some studies have focussed attention on nuclear energy and its environmental problems; coal energy and its environmental problems, and petroleum energy and its environmental problems (Kovering, T.E. and Sell, N.J. 1986, Siddiqi, T.A. 1984; Botkin, D.B. and Keller, E.A. 1982; and Dayal, M. 1983). There are some other studies which have paid attention to rural energy and rural environmental problems (Earl, D.E. 1975; Bee, O.J. 1986; Parikh, J. 1976; UNEP, 1985; and Morgan, W.B. 1981). However, from the review of literature, it seems that in TamilNadu especially the air pollution problems due to the burning of fuelwoods for cooking purpose have not analytically been studied. That is why, an attempt has been made to analytically study about the firewood consumption and air pollution in rural areas especially with special reference to a tribal area in Tamilnadu.

Objectives

The objectives of the present study are as follows:

i) to measure the amount of fuelwood, crop residue and cattle dung used for cooking purpose.

ii) to measure the amount of emission of pollutants due to the burning of the firewood, crop residues and cattle dung for cooking purpose.

Study Area

A tribal panchayat called as 'Sittilingi' has been selected to measure how much of fuelwoods, crop residues and cattle dung are used for cooking purpose; and to estimate how much of pollutants are emitted to the atmosphere because of using the above mentioned fuels. Sittilingi panchayat consists of eleven villages. It is located in the south eastern part of Harur block (1981 populaton: 1.2 lakh) in Dharmapuri district. The panchayat is surrounded by Sittilingi Reserved Forest and Sittilingi Extention Reserved Forest; both the forests roughly cover an area of 4600 hectares. The Kalrayan Hills stretch into the Panchayat. The villages are located at an elevation of about 500-1500 metres.

The total population of the panchayat is about 3500. More than 65% of the total population of the panchayat belongs to tribal community. The tribals living in the panchayat are called as 'Malayalies'. Apart from the tribals, scheduled caste, backward and other caste groups of people are also living in the panchayat. Lambadies have been included in the backward caste group by the Government of Tamil Nadu. But

their way of life, customs and mother tongue are quite different from the SC, ST and other backward caste groups. The Lambadies believe that they have migrated from Rajasthan. Agriculture is the main occupation of the people. Paddy, Samai, Cholam, Cumbu and Ragi are some of the important crops cultivated in the panchayat. The only industrial unit presented in the panchayat is a flour mill. Daily, 3 trips, buses come from Harur town to Sittilingi and Velanur (the distance from Harur town is 47 km). For transportation purposes people rely on the government buses. Private owning automobiles are absent. So, noise pollution and air pollution due to the automobiles are absent.

Methodology

To obtain, the energy consumption level, a survey was conducted at household level in all the eleven villages of the panchayat during October and November 1989. The household were selected at random. From each village, roughly 10% of the total households were included for the energy survey. In total, 86 households were selected. The energy consumption details were obtained from the heads of the households and were entered in the schedules. Care was taken to include households from different caste groups, income groups and farm-size holders.

From the energy details, the particulars regarding the consumption of firewood and crop residues, for the cooking purposes were taken out separately. Then the amount of firewood and crop residue used for the cooking purposes were grouped villagewise and income group-wise.

The direct burning (i.e., direct combustion) of fuelwoods and crop residues for cookig purposes emit some pollutants. An author in a study (Parikh, J. 1976) has estimated the amount of pollutants emitted because of burning the above mentioned fuels. Based on the results of that study, the amount of emission of pollutants for each village in the panchayat has been calculated.

Results and Discussion

1. Types and amount of fuels used for cooking purposes

The survey at household level indicates that out of the 86 households surveyed, only one ousehold has biogas plant. Rest of the households use firewood for cooking purposes. Only 2 households buy firewood rest of the households collect the fuelwood from the surrounding forest, free of cost. Only one household uses the crop resudue (0.12 ton per annum) alongwith the firewood for cooking purpose, since it has not been shown in Table 1.

It is evident from the Table 1 that the 85 household use 254 tons of firewood per annum and 0.12 ton of crop residue per annum. the energy survey has brought out an interesting

fact that the practice of burning dung cake for cooking purpose is not at all present in any of the villages of the panchayat.

Per capita consumption of fuelwood for cooking purposes in the tribal panchayat is 590 kg per annum. The following factors may be attributed for the high level of per capita consumtion of firewood: i) altitude ii) prevailing climate iii) availability of fuelwood free of cost and iv) water condition. When the respondents were causally asked to give reasons for the high level of firewood consumtion, they replied that because of high altitude and hardness of water, more time was required to boil rice, pulses and vegetables. Moreover, they said that enough fuelwood was available in their area.

ii) **Fuelwood consumption and Air pollution - Villagewise Results**

Among the eleven villages in Sittilingi panchayat, Keel Thanda village ranks first in polluting the air (Table 1). In that village, 10% of the households emit 2.75 tons of pollutants to the air by way of burning 37 tons of fuelwood per annum for cooking purpose. The second rank goes to Katthiripatti. The pollutants emitted from 10% of the households of Katthiripatti are 2.72 tons per annum. It is interesting to observe that Katthiripatti does not rank first in the fuelwood consumption as well as in the emission of the pollutants even-though the village has the highest number of members (689) in the sampled houses. Moreover, in Kathiripatti the per capita Fuelwood consumption per annum is low (471 kg) when compare to the other villages of the panchayat. As for as the emission of the pollutants is concerned, Naikutthi village gets the last rank. The emission of the pollutants are very less (ranges between 1000 and 1100 kg per annum) in 4 villages viz., Naikutthi, Nammankudu, Mel Thanda and Moola Sittilingi. As a whole in Sittilingi panchayat, the surveyed 85 households emit annualy 21,27 tons of pollutant to the atmosphere. Out of the 21.27 tons of the pollutants, particles (7.99 tons) and organic compounds (5.98 tons) constitute a major share. Due to the firewood consumption annually 4.07 tons of carbon monoxide are emitted by 10% of the population in Sittilingi panchayat. The burning of crop residues for cooking purpose is very less, therefore, annually only 9.6 kg of pollutants are emitted. So the pollutants emitted due to crop residues burning are not shown in the Table 1.

It is noteworthy that the emissions of the pollutants from the firewood burning not only pollute the air but also they could cause eye diseases respiratory diseases and cancer (Parikh, J. 1976 and UNEP, 1985). Especially housewives and children could be affected by these pollutants because during cooking time mostly they are in the houses. The World Health Organisation has cautioned the

developing countries,including India, Bangladesh, Burma, Fiji, Nepal and Thailand regarding the fuelwood consumption and health hazards (UNEP., 1985).

iii) **Fuelwood consumption and Air pollution - Income group-wise**

An exercise has been done in order to find out which income group of households consume more fuelwood and emit more pollutants. For that purpose, the households have been grouped according to the income level. Then the firewood consumption and the emission of the pollutants of each income group have been worked out. The obtained results have been tabulated (Table 2).

The results indicate that as a whole in the Sittilingi panchayat the surveyed 29 households having a monthly income between Rs. 601-1200 emit 7.47 tons of pollutants by burning 29.31 tons of fuelwood per annum. The 2 households coming under the income category of more than Rs. 2400 per month, emit less amount of pollutants (0.58 ton) by burning 6.9 tons of fuelwood per annum It is interesting to note that the percapita annual fuelwood consumption decreases when the income of the households increases. So special attention should be given to the households having low and middle income in order to reduce the fuelwood consumption and the emission of pollutants.

Conclusions and Suggestions

In Sittinlingi panchayat (predominantly a tribal panchayat), almost 99% o the total houshold use fuelwood for cooking purpose; and they obtain the fuelwood free of cost from the forest.s The practice of burning dung cake for cooking purpose is not at all present in any of the vilalges of the panchayat. The sampled 85 households (Sample size is 10%) in the panchayat every year emit 21.27 tons of pollutants by burning 254 tons of fuelwood for cooking purpose. Out of 21.27 tons of the pollutants, particulates (7.99 tons) and organics (5.98 tons) constitute a major share. Keel Thanda which is predominantly a Lambadi village tops the list as for as the emission of the pollutants is concerned. In Keel Thanda, the 10 sampled households emit 2.75 tons of the pollutants per annum by way of burning the fuelwood for cooking purpose.

The following suggestions can be considered to minimise the air pollution and health hazards due to fuelwood consumption.

i) To avert the health hazards related to fuelwood consumption, the economically poor people in the tribal area can be given improved stoves with chimneys (ie., Smokless earthern stoves) free of cost through Integrated Rural Energy Planning Scheme. The other groups of people can be given the improved stoves with subsidy.

ii) The people in the tribal area can be educated about the role of proper ventilation in controlling smokes and health hazards.

iii) To reduce the fuelwood consumption and its related air pollution problems, the economically poor prople and middle income group people of the tribal area can be asked not to use earthern pots; instead they can be given energy saving utencils made up of aluminium and indoleum and pressure cookers and energy efficient stoves with subsidy.

iv) To reduce the fuelwood consumption and its related air pollution problems in the tribal area, the higher income group people can be encouraged to switch over to biogas. They can be given loans and subsidy to buy cattles and install biogas plants.

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Table 1. Villagewise Fuelwood Consumption and Emission of Major Pollutants in Sittilingi Panchayat - 1989

(Units in Kg.)

Sl. No.	Name of the Village	Number of sampled Households	Members in the Households	Annual Fuel-wood consumption	Annual per capita fuel-wood consumption	Amount of Pollutants Emitted due to Fuelwood burning: Particulates	Organics (including hydrocarbon)	Sulphur dioxide	Nitrogen oxides	Carbon monoxide	Hydrogen sulphide	Hydrogen Chloride	Ammonia	Total	Per capita Emission
1.	Sittilingi	12	49	31025	633.16	974.21	729.11	608.09	121.01	49.64	37.22	37.22	37.22	2593.72	52.93
2.	Moola Sittilingi	3	15	12775	851.66	401.14	300.22	250.39	49.83	20.44	15.33	15.33	15.33	1068.01	71.20
3.	Malai Thangi	5	32	19717	616.16	619.12	463.36	386.45	76.91	31.54	23.65	23.65	23.65	1648.33	51.51
4.	S.Thathampati	10	51	30660	601.18	962.74	720.53	600.95	119.59	49.06	36.80	36.80	36.80	2563.27	50.26
5.	Mullikadu	9	55	30295	550.82	951.27	711.94	593.79	118.16	48.47	36.35	36.35	36.35	2532.69	46.05
6.	Mel Thanda	5	24	13140	547.50	412.60	308.80	257.54	51.25	21.02	15.78	15.78	15.78	1098.55	45.77
7.	Nammankadu	5	24	12410	517.08	389.69	291.64	243.23	48.41	19.85	14.88	14.88	14.88	1037.46	43.23
8.	Velanur	10	44	27080	615.45	850.31	636.39	530.77	105.61	43.33	32.50	32.50	32.50	2263.91	51.45
9.	Naikutthi	4	18	12045	669.17	378.22	283.07	236.08	46.98	19.27	14.45	14.45	14.45	1006.97	55.94
10.	Keel Thanda	10	50	32850	657.00	1031.51	771.98	643.85	128.12	52.55	39.42	39.42	39.42	2746.27	54.93
11.	Katthiripatti	12	69	32485	470.80	1020.03	763.41	636.72	126.68	51.99	38.97	38.97	38.97	2715.74	39.36
	Sittilingi Panchayat	85	431	254482	590.45	7990.84	5980.45	4987.86	992.55	407.16	305.35	305.35	305.35	21274.91	49.36

Table 2: Income Group-wise Fuelwood Consumption and Emission of Major Pollutants in Sittilingi Pancyat - 1989

(Units in Kg.)

Monthly Income Rs.	Number of sampled House-holds	Member in the House-holds	Annual Fuel-wood consump-tion	Annual per-capita Fuelwood consump-tion	Amount of Pollutants emitted due to Fuelwood burning									
					Particu-lates	Organics (including hydrocar-bon)	Sulp-hur dio-xide	Nitro-gen oxides	Carbon mono-xide	Hydro-gen sulp-hide	Hydro-gen Chlo-ride	Ammonia	Total	Per Capita Emission
Upto 300	15	55	34310	623.82	1077.35	806.32	672.47	133.82	54.89	41.17	41.17	41.17	2868.36	52.15
301-600	25	117	72452.5	619.25	2275.05	1702.68	1420.09	282.57	115.94	86.95	86.95	86.95	6057.18	51.77
601-1200	29	160	89307.5	558.17	2804.29	2098.75	1750.43	348.34	142.88	107.15	107.15	107.15	7466.14	46.66
1201-2400	14	87	51472	591.63	1616.23	1209.61	1008.85	200.75	82.35	61.76	61.76	61.76	4303.07	49.46
above 2400	2	12	6940	408.24	217.92	163.09	136.02	27.07	11.10	8.32	8.32	8.32	580.16	48.35
Sittilingi Panchayat	85	431	254482	590.45	7990.84	5980.45	4987.86	992.55	407.16	305.35	305.35	305.35	21274.91	49.36

Tamil Civilization
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RESEARCH METHODOLOGY IN TAMIL PROVERBS

V. Perumal

Research has 14 specific purposes viz: 1.to contribute in quantity to the existing knowledge 2. to throw sufficient light on the existing knowledge 3. to clear all the existing doubts 4. to clear the misunderstanding, 5. to prove with authenticity and authority the veracity of the existing genuine theories, principles, philosophy etc., by quoting chapter and verse 6. to disprove the bogus theories etc., by citing scientific evidence, 7. to deepen the knowledge 8. to sharpen the knowledge, 9. to make the existing quantum of knowledge more meaningful, 10. to give a scientific analysis of the existing knowledge and 11. to make purely an objective study absolutely free from fear or favour 12. to meaningfully connect one piece of knowledge with another, 13. to leave sufficient scope for further expansion of research in future and 14. to create more meaningful dimensions with profound imagination and vision.

Historical Method

Historical method is very useful for the chronological fixation of every proverb. This method will be certainly helpful to study the entire history of Tamil Nadu century wise having Tamil proverbs as the source. Whom the king admired is the most beautiful lady (ராஜன் மெச்சியது ரம்பை). This idea came into being in the period of monarchy: Historical type of research is not fully dependable because of the hyperbolical character of the proverbs. The kingdom of Rama which is popularly known as Rama Rajya and very much appreciated and whole heartedly admired by the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi is more or less Utopia. The historicity of Rama Rajya is questionable though it is very pleasing to hear.

Geographical Method

Application of this method will certainly enable us to understand various relevant geographical factors and natural features of a particular region. 'The fertile Chola land is full of rice' goes a Tamil adage (சோழ வளநாடு சோறுடைத்து). Though it was said by the popular poetess Avvaiyaar it has become a proverb of the people. It is very clear from this adage that Chola Country (Thanjavur and Tiruchirappalli Districts) consists of arable land and cultivation of paddy is the main occupation. Further, it is

clear that the staple food of the people of Chola country is rice.

Statistical Method

Statistics is numerical facts collected systematically. Statistical method of research is based on facts and figures and noted for accuracy. There are about 12,000 proverbs in Tamil. Out of these about 4,000 are pertaining to agriculture either directly or indirectly. The very fact that 1/3 of the Tamil adages are related to farming confirms emphatically that Tamilnadu is fundamentally based on agricultural economy. On the basis of data, Tamil proverbs can be statistically interpreted with the maximum possible degree of precision.

Linguistic Method

According to the linguistic method the phoneme, morpheme, semene, syntactic and various other philological elements of every proverb can be analysed systematically applying modern advanced technical methodology in linguistics. Such a type of method has a good deal of relevance in modern linguistic analysis of Tamil proverbs. This method if applied fully and conducted properly and meaningfully, will contribute to linguistic analysis in general and linguistic analysis of Tamil proverbs in particular. In other words, the right type of scientifically based linguistic approach can be applied to Tamil proverbs.

Prosodial Method

Almost every proverb is a mini poem. Almost all the characteristics of a poem are found in every adage. Hence, prosodic Method can be applied to analyse alliteration, assonance, consonance, initial rhyme, ending rhyme, syllable, metrical features and lla the relevant prosodic elements. Prosodial method may not be applicable to research in other disciplines. But, it is fully applicable in the area of study of proverbs. It must be noted that proverb is the people's poetry and proverb has a great amount of poetic content and value.

Literary Method

It is a well known fact that proverb is an oral literature. In many cases it is practically impossible to draw a hard and fast line between written literature and oral literature (proverb). It is very difficult to say whether the Indian Sappho Avvaiyaar employed adages in her poems or her words have become proverbs owing to wide popularity and currency among the people. In the same way, it is difficult task to say whether proverbs were employed in Bible or the Biblical statements have become proverbs. Hence, a clear cut literary approach is necessary not only to understand and appreciate proverbs but also to locate their genesis. The application of literary method in the field of research in proverbs is fully relevant and valid.

Opinion Survey method

This method is frequently employed to assess the public opinion regarding a particular issue. In non technical and popular language it is known as opinion poll. Opinion Survey Method can be employed in cases where the meaning of a proverb is either doubtful or ambiguous. 'You must lead a life admired by all the four' It is a saying in Tamil full of meaning (நாலு பேரும் மெச்ச வாழ வேண்டும்). But the meaning of the term 'four' is ambiguous. According to one opinion survey the term four refers to mother, father, teacher and God. According to the second opinion survey the term four refers to all the four pall bearers. According to the third opinion survey, it means all the four Saivite Saints viz; Sambandar, Appar, Sundarar and Manickavasagar. According to the fourth opinion survey it refers to the people of all the four directions. In the opinion survey method, opinionaire is used instead of questionnaire. Either the most popularly endorsed meaning can be accepted or all the four meanings can be approved according to the order of popularity and semantic rank can be given as the first meaning second meaning third meaning and fourth meaning.

Experimental Method

As proveb is based on experience it can be practically approached, and put into acid test. A scientific experiment can be conducted to find out the truth hidden in a proverb. Even an old man will maintain youth if he takes ginger in the morning, dry ginger in the noon and gall nut in the evening for forty days. It is a Tamil proverb in the form of medical advice. (காலை இஞ்சி, கடும்பகல் சுக்கு, மாலை கடுக்காய் மண்டலந்தின்னில் கோலை ஊன்றிக் குறுகி நடந்தவர் கோலை விட்டுக் குலாவி நடப்பரே). This proverb need not be blindly accepted. On the otherhand the ginger, dryginger and gall nut which are mentioned in this adage can be chemically analysed and medicinally examined in the laboratory and the result can be compared and verified with the proverbial statement. Application of experimental method will enable an investigator to find out the genuinness of the proverb. This method is also known as the laboratory method as it partly falls on the ealm of laboratory.

Observation Method

Inspite of the marvellous achievement in the field of science and technology the modern scientist has not gained full control over nature. Hence, observation method is a must in almost all the fields of research.

There is no rain after kaartikai.
கார்த்திகைக்குப் பின் மழை
இல்லை.

(Kaartikai is a name of the Tamil month which corresponds to November and December).

This tamil adage is based on observation of Nature.

The truth found in this adage cannot be scientifically examined and analysed within the four walls of the laboratory. On the other hand it can be only observed. Instead of following the archaic and traditional method of observation a modern scientific method of observation can be conducted in the methodological station employing highly sophisticated instruments. But, it must be borne in mind that the observation method alone is applicable to analyse such proverbs.

Comparative Method

From the dialectological point of view, a comparative method can be meaningfully applied in analysing Tamil proverbs. A comparative study of proverbs of North Arcot and Nagarcoil Districts is an instance in point. This study is based on region. The regional variation can be brought out from this study. A Comparative study of Brahmin and Harijan proverbs will certainly throw a new light on various minute aspects of socio linguistics, sociology, social psychology, etc.,

It must be understood very clearly in this context that both the approaches mentioned are purely *intramural* though the research system employed is comparative method. One is geographically intramural and the other is sociologically intramural.

From the linguistic point of view proverbs of one particular language can be studied purely in isolation. But the proverbs of one language can also be studied in comparison with another language. Such a study is called comparative method. A study of Tamil proverbs can be conducted in comparison with Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu, Tulu etc., either individually or collectively. In other words, a comparative study of Dravidian or South Indian proverbs is more relevant, grammatically, linguistically, culturally and geographically. Why loiter from pillar to post for ghee when there is butter in the hand.

கையில் வெண்ணெய் இருக்க நெய்க்கு அலைவானேன்?

It is a meaningful and ethical oriented proverb in Tamil. The same proverb is found in all the Dravidian languages. Application of comparative method in the field of research in Dravidian proverbs will enable the researcher to find out (a) the similar proverbs and (b) the identical proverbs.

Comparative method can be employed in studying the proverbs of Indian languages separately in the following manner:-

(1) A comparative study of Tamil and Sanskrit Proverbs.

(2) A comparative study of Tamil and Hindi Proverbs.

(3) A comparative study of Tamil and Bengali Proverbs.

(4) A comparative study of Tamil and Marathi Proverbs.

In the same manner the proverbs of every Indian language can be separately compared and studied with Tamil proverbs. This method is based on bilingual system. There is another system which has a broader base in which more languages are involved. May be made 'A comparative study of Indian Proverbs' on all the 22 languages of India. A comparative study of Asian proverbs has a very broad continental basis. Though it is a Herculean task, such a broad study of Asiatic proverbs applying the comparative method will certainly throw new light on various cultures of the continent of Asia.

A comparative method in studying international proverbs covering 150 nations is very much desirable, appreciable, laudable, acceptable and useful. But such a gigantic study is neither workable nor practicable as it is unmanageable. Hence, A comparative study of Tamil and American Proverbs is the only feasible method to study the international proverbs. Tamil and American English approximately represent the east and the west respectively. Tamil represents the Eastern hemisphere and America represents the Western hemisphere.

Case Study Method

Tamil proverbs can be studied with special reference to the individuals or groups. A systematic study can be made regarding (a) the proverbs used by an individual (b) the proverbs used frequently by the individual (c) the proverbs employed by a particular group and (d) the proverbs employed frequently by a particular group. If a person frequently uses proverbs connected with meat like. All meat is not venison (English)

Mutton and rice (Tamil)

ஆட்டுக்கறியும் நெல்லுச்
சோறும்.

it can be safely concluded that he is a meat eater. Different relevant aspects of psychology of the individuals and the groups can be studied scientifically with the help of case study method.

Descriptive Method

Descriptive method aims at describing in detail the connotation and denotation of each and every proverb. According to this method various shades of meaning both gross and subtle and different levels of meaning are elaborately interpreted. 'If there is sauce in the pot it will come out through the ladle'.

சட்டியில் இருந்தால்
அகப்பையில் வரும்.

Tamilians quote the above adage very frequently. Semantically speaking, it

can be clearly divided into three levels in the, following manner:-

Ordinary Level Meaning

One can take food only if it is in the pot.

Intellectual Level Meaning

If a man has knowledge he can speak.

Spiritual Level Meaning

If a devotee maintains penance (abstinence) she will have a baby.

The different shades of meaning and the three semantic levels are inter twined. Descriptive method aims at comprehensive explanation and encyclopaedic treatment of every adage.

Historic-Geographic Method (Finnish Method)

It is a combined method. It is a combination of historical and geographical methods. Comparatively speaking, this method is more meaningful than other methods as it takes into account Two basically vital factors viz. time and place into consideration in analysing Tamil proverbs. The Nawab lost the fort in broad day light.

பட்டப் பகலில் கோட்டை
விட்டான் நவாப்.

It is one of the familiar proverbs in Tamil. The Nawab of Arcot Chanda Sahib (North Arcot District) was defeated by the Britishers (Robert Clive) in the Second Carnatic War (1749-1755) in Arcot. It must be noted that the date of origin of this proverb is fixed. The place of origin of this adage is also located with precision. Historic geographic method is very useful to understand the double aspect (Time and Place) of a proverb.

Macro Survey Method

Macro Survey Method in the field of research in Tamil Proverbs is very much desirable in the interest of *wholesome* study. A comprehensive study alone can give a full and correct data of Tamil proverbs. Tamil proverbs are profusely employed not only by the people of Tamilnadu but also by the Tamil speaking people throughout India. Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore and Mauritius are some of the important countries in the world where the Tamilians constitute sizable proportion of the population. While conducting Macro survey of Tamil proverbs all these countries must be brought under research. Macro survey must be conducted systematically in a phased programme. Conducting macro survey at the global level will be very ideal from the point of view of fullness of research.

Micro Survey Method

Survey of Tamil proverbs either in a village or small town can be considered as a micro survey method.

Micro survey is certainly very much easier than macro survey. 'If cooked, millet will be delicious, after coming of age the cobbler's daughter will be beautiful.'

சமைத்தால் தெரியும் சாமை
சமைந்தால் தெரியும்
சக்கிலியப் பெண்.

சாமைப் பயிரும் சக்கிலியப்
பெண்ணும் பக்குவத்தில்
பார்த்தால் அழகு.

It can be concluded that the above maxims came into existence in a village occupied by the cobblers and where millet was the staple food. It is very interesting to note that the application of the micro survey method enables the researcher to gather minute details pertaining to each and every aspect of human life.

Sample Survey Method

Comparatively speaking sample survey is easier than micro survey. Sample survey must be conducted in a methodical manner with mathematical precision. For instance, if a sample survey method is to be applied in a hamlet consisting of 100 houses, the residents of the houses bearing the following numbers can be interviewed:- 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 45, 50, 55, 60, 65, 70, 75, 80, 85, 90, 95, 100.

If the proverbs collected from all the twenty respondents are fully Sanskritised, it can be concluded that the people of the village are under the full influence of Aryan culture. If the proverbs are partially Sanskritised it may be concluded that they are partially influenced by the Aryan culture. If the investigator could not find even a single Sanskrit word in their proverbs, it can be safely concluded that the people of the said hamlet is absolutely free from the influence of Aryan culture and Brahminism.

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Random Survey Method

Random Survey is not only the easiest but also the quickest method. A few Tamil proverbs can be collected at random and put to empirical verification. This is the simplest among all the research methods. It can be comfortably followed by an investigator who has no sufficient time at his disposal for research.

A time for the elephant and a
time for the cat. (Tamil proverb)

யானைக்கு ஒரு காலம் பூனைக்கு
ஒரு காலம்.

The parallel English proverbs are:

Every cloud has a silver lining.

Every dog has a day.

The Tamil proverb cited above can be collected at random from any place in Tamilnadu or Tamil speaking area or Tamil speaking person. Random Survey is the fastest method of research.

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WORD-CLASSES AND THEIR GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES IN TOLKA:PPIYAM

S.V. Shanmugam

1. Introduction

Col is the basic unit in Tolka:ppiyam (shortly Tolm.) as well as in other native grammars for *col-latika:ram* 'Chapter on *Col*', which includes morphology and syntax. *Col* is used in many senses like morpheme, root, word (Shanmugam, 1965: 1 f). However *col* is generally taken to mean the word and the real significance of various meanings of the *col* will be shown at the end, when Tolka:ppiyar (Shortly Tolr.)'s concept of word classes is discussed: (3.4).

2. Classification of col

Tolr. discusses the general definition of *col* in the fifth section of collatika:ram (SS.640-2) called *peyariyal* 'Section on noun', then describes the classificaiton in two sutras (643,4) and sub-classification of the nouns in the rest of the section.

The words properly so-called are *peyar* 'noun' (literatally name) and *vinai* 'verb' (literally action) (S.643). *itai* (lit. Middle) and *uri* (lit. belong) would occur depending on them (S. 644).

Elsewhere (SS. 553 & 554), nouns are defined as those which take case suffixes at the end and will not take tense suffixes. Verbs are defined as those which do not take case suffixes and will take tense suffixes (S. 683). But no such definition is found for *itai* and *uri*. They are simply classified into some sub-classes.

The commentators of Tolm. and some modern scholars (e.g. Ilakkuvanar, 1963) consider that there are totally four word-classes in Tamil. But Subrahmanya Sastri (1945:167) and Meenakshisundaram (1974;123) are of the opinion that nouns and verbs are alone word-classes in Tamil. Subrahmanya Sastri (1934:195) equats *itaiccols* with the Sanskrit concept *pratyaya* 'formative elements' and *nipa:ta* in one place and in another place (p.105) with *upasarga* and *nipa:ta*. According to him 'a new fourth category *uriccol* was introduced for the sake of consistency with the Sanskrit model'

The concept of *uriccol* has been discussed elaborately elsewhere (Shanmugam, 1986:150-79) and two points relevant to the word classes can be noted here: One is that among the

words for which the meanings are given in that chapter, there are nearly sixteen attributives which do not take any suffix. These attributives, even though they are in limited number, can alone be considered to constitute a separate class. The second point is that Tolr. has used the term, *Kuraiccol* 'defective words' in the phonology (S.481) and this term is taken to refers to *uriccol* by the commentators and also by the modern scholars (e.g. Meenakshisundaram, 1974:129). *Uriccols* are called *kuraiccols* probably to refer to the attributive roots which do not take any suffix. If so, there is another word class different from nouns and verbs included in the chapter on *uriccol*.

So, this paper makes an attempt to study *itaiccols* so as to understand the word classes in Tamil from the point of view of Tolka:ppiyam and modern linguistics.

3. Definition of *itaiccol*

The first sutra (S.734) of *itaiyiyal* 'section on *itai*' defines *itaiccol* 'as those which occur with nouns and verbs and which do not occur independently'. Since this is not very useful to understand the characteristic features of *itaiccol*, one has to look into the classification made in the next sutra (S.735) and the sutra (S.736) on the special features.

3.1. Types of *itaiccol*

The *itaiccols* are classified into seven types, viz. i) those which are useful semantically in the sandhi (this is taken to refer to the increments in the nouns before case suffixes and this is not acceptable), ii) verbal suffixes along with tense suffixes, iii) Case suffixes, iv) Expletive particles, v) Euphonic particles, vi) Suggestive particles and vii) Participles of Comparison. Ce:navaraiyar, a commentator of 13th century and Naccina:rkkiniyar, a commentator of 14th century have observed that the middle three types (4 to 6) are alone discussed in this section.

Israel (1973:257) identifies those seven types from the linguistic point of view thus:

'The seven sub-types can be classified into two major groups: i) Affixes and ii) Particles. The first three sub classes of *itaiccol* are evidently affixes and remaining classes may be considered particles. The particles which are separated from the affixes may be identified as a class of uninflected words. Clitics are a type of particles, which are intermediate between affixes and words in freedom. They are semi free and semi bound at the same time' (p.278 . . . .)

In Tamil, many of the clitics are enclitics, e.g. *-a:*, *-e:* (S.32). These are not discussed in *itaiyiyal* . . . . . These three may be identified as interrogative enclitics. . . . Tolka:ppiyana:r describes the different shades of meaning in which the enclitics *-e:*

(S.742), *-o:* (S.741) *-um* (S.740) occur *in itaiyiyal'* (p.280).

There is no problem in the recognition of affixes and clitics (especially enclitics). Annamalai (1981: iv) has also made similar distinction between affixes and clitics. To know the word classes, one has to study in detail all the *itaiccols*. But the study of distribution of *itaiccol* described in S.736 will throw some light to understand the word classes.

3.2. Distribution

The *itaiccols* can occur before or after a *moli* which can be a word or an utterance may be modified at the end and be followed by another and so on (S.736). Here that the *itaiccols* can precede a word or an utterance is important because Old Tamil is strictly a suffixing aggultinating language. But neither Tolr. has listed the *itaiccols* occurring before a word, nor has he pointed out the distribution or the position of occurrences of *itaiccols* when they are discussed individually.

All the commentators have given the illustration *konnu:r* ('great village' for this type. *Kon* is an *itaiccol* having the meanings fear, uselessness, time and greatness (S.739). Subramanya Sastri (1934: 198) explains *kon* as 'approximate to preposition'. But Kumaraswami Raja (1972:238) citing other instances of *Kon* in OTa. like

Kon munai 'fearful battle field'
konne kalintanru 'passed uselessly'
kon varal va:tai 'northern wind coming (at) the appropriate time'

and giving the meaning 'the entire village' for *konnu:r*. has observed that in all these instances it is an attributive to a noun or a verb and so it is not correct to consider *kon* as an *itaiccol*. Israel (1973:254) considers *konnu:r* as 'a compound formed of two nouns' and so gives the *itaiccol* erru for this type.

erru ennutampin elil nalam 'The beauty of my body is a past thing'

However, let us discuss the nature of *Kon* first and as other *itaiccols* occurring before a word.

It is clear from the illustrations given by Kumaraswami Raja earlier and other illustrations found in OTa. such as,

konne, cu:tti 'having worn uselessly (Akam. 180-70)

kon vilankutiya:l vicumpina:ne: '(sun) shines in the sky uselessly' (Pur. 374-18)

konne:ceyti '(you) do uselessly' (Akam. 188-8)
kon onru ku:ruval 'tell one thing uselessly' (Nar. 266-6)

That *kon* is a root having the meanings uselessly, great etc., functioning as attributives (adverbs and adjective) and taking a clitic.

It cannot be considered as a noun because it does not take the case suffix. That means from the point of view of description of *itaiccol*, the roots which function as attributes and which can take a clitic are alone to be taken to occur before a word. Eventhough, they are limited in number, they can be considered to form a separate word-class.

Three other roots of this type can be recognized among the *itaiccols* discussed by Tolr.

tancam 'easy' is another *itaiccol* (S.751) having the same previlege of occurrence.

araco: tancam '(the giving of) kingdom is easy' (Pur.73.3)

tancamo:to:li talaivan varak ka:ne:n
'The husband did not come: is it simple,
the girl friend! (Cil.13-64)

Eventhough *tancam* occurs as a predicate, it should be taken as an adverb. It is a root occurring with a clitic and not taking a case suffix or a tense suffix.

marraiyatu 'other thing' is another *itaiccol* (S.749) which is a bimorphemic word, even according to the commentators, having - *atu*, the neuter singular suffix. Therefore *marrai* - is a root. This is found to occur with the gender-number suffixes and some clitics. As a root, it occurs as an adjective.

marrai ya:mam 'the other mid-night' Mat. 653
marraiyavar 'the other persons' Kur. 34.8
uvappe:n marrum. . . ku:tum
'I will be happy and it will be possible'

So *marru/marrai* is a root functioning as adjective and it can also take a clitic.

There is another word, *ini* 'now' further' (S.236) noted by Tolr. in the Chapter on phonology having the same privilege of occurrence.

ini arintanan 'I knew now' (Kur. 84-2)
nencam iniye: . . . celavu a:na:te:
the heart will not stop going now itself' (Kur. 153-3)

iniye . . . ka:mam kainilla:te:
'The love cannot be controlled further' (Kur. 123-2)

These are also roots having some lexical meaning and functioning as attributives. Since all of them take a clitic, it can be said to have the similar privilege of occurrence. Therefore they can be considered to form a separate class distinct from noun and verb and also *uriccols* which here

refers to attributives not taking any other suffix or clitic.

This type of *itaiccols* which are roots and which are capable of taking some clitics alone should have been referred to by Tolka:ppiyar as occurring before another word. But unfortunately Tolka:ppiyar has only included the suffixes and particles in the seven types of *itaiccol* discussed in S. 735.

There are another set of *itaiccols* having some lexical meaning and occurring as a word. They can be called negative particles, attributive particles, particles of interjections etc. and they do not take any other suffix.

manra 'certainly' is an *itaiccol* (S.750) functioning as an adverb.

matavai manra va:li muruke:
'Oh Muruga: (you)
are certainly a fool' (Narr. 34)

maranto: manra na:nutai nence:
'(We) forgot certainly' (Nan.112.4)

amma is another *itaiccol* (S. 761) which can be used to invite the attention of the hearer. This can be simply called vocative particle.

amma va:li to:li 'Oh, girl friend live (long)'
payaninru amma . . avaiye: 'The assembly is not useful' Nar. 90
inna:tu amma i:nku
'here it is bad ' Pur. 44-9
antil is yet another *itaiccol* (s. 752) having the meaning 'there'

antir ka:niyavarume: '(the lady) comes there to see' (Aka. 76)

They are morphologically free but syntactically bound.

All other *itaiccols* are suffixes, clitics and particles occurring after the roots from the distributional point of view. Therefore two types of *itaiccols*, viz. i) *itaiccols* which are roots occurring before a word and ii) *itaiccols* which are suffixes, particles and clitics occurring after a root could be recognized from the distributional point of view.

3.3.: *Itaiccols* and Word-Classes

As the word classes are only applicable to the roots, from the point of view of modern linguistics there are atleast two different word classes among the *itaiccols* described by Tolr. One is the roots having some lexical meaning and the potentiality of taking a clitic and they can be considered to form a separate word class. *Kon, tancam, marru, el, and ini* belong to this class. There is another set of roots having some lexical meaning but not taking any other suffix, which constitute another sub-class.

amma, antil etc., belong to this class. Therefore, from the linguistic point of view, there are a group of roots in the *itaiyiyal* which can be recognized as a separate word class in Tamil. Since Tolr. has included suffixes, his concept of word class seems to be somewhat different and it is discussed below.

3.4. Concept of *Itaiccol*

Before discussing Tolr.s concept of *itaiccol,* one thing should be pointed out that Tolr. has also noted the occurrences of some particles functioning as a lexeme in certain plaaces and as an expletive in some other places. *antil* (S. 752) occurs in the sense of 'there' as well as an expletive. The example for the expletive is.

antil, kaccinan, kalalinan 'he (has) waist and anklet'. Similarly the suffix *-a:r* is said to occur in the sense of honorific singular (S. 755) as well as expletive (S. 756).

Hon.Sg. aracan-a:r 'king' (Hon.)'
Expletive tokaiyuma:r ulave: 'there are also compounds'

They show that Tolr. is aware of the process of particlisation and grammaticalisation, i.e., the change of status of words.

On the basis of the above discussion it is clear that *itaiccols* include roots, particles, suffixes and clitics. They should have been called *itaiccol* 'middle words' probably because they are in between 'the words', i.e. nouns and verbs and defective words.

In this connection it should be noted that the concept of *itai* 'middle' is also found in the chapter of phonology. It is used there to denote the sounds which are intermediate to stops and nasals. They are phonetically semi-vowels and liquids.The terms used are *vallinam* 'strong class' to denote stops, *mellinam* 'soft class' to denote nasals and *itaiyinam* 'inter mediate class' to refer to semi-vowels and liquids. Eventhough liquids and semi-vowels are phonetically not homogeneous, they form one class phonemically because only all the semi-vowels and liquids can occur finally in old Tamil where as five, out of six nasals and no stop can occur finally. Therefore the semi-vowels and liquids form one homogenous class. This term is used in the classification of words ending in shorter *-u* (S. 406) and it is useful to describe the phonological structure of the word.

In the case of grammar, *itaiccol* cannot be said to form a homogenous class. However they can be considered intermediate word class between full words i.e., nouns and verbs and *uriccol* which are called defective words. In the last chapter, *eccaviyal, itaiccols* are said to be useful to differentiate words (S.938), While only a few words in *uriccols* are said to differentiate (S.939). If so, differentiating the (meaning of) words is only common feature conceived by Tolka:ppiyar for the *itaiccols*.

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TRANSLATION OF POETRY

Dr. Palany Arangasamy

Translation is a tough job. Tougher it is to render drama and poetry. Of these two genres, poetry is normally, precise, terse and even verbally economical. More so, for example the poetry of Browning which is abnormally complex and obscure and the rendition of it in any language is well nigh impossible. Almost alike is the poetical compositions of G.M. Hopkins and T.S. Eliot in English. Even poems, though comprehensive prove to be a stumbling block if they are anagrammatic and acrostic. In certain cases, even epigrammatic lines pose a threat to be rendred. Brevity is the soul of the poets. It is this along with other impediments that make the translation of poetry tough and uneasy. Along with these structural constraints, other setbacks are the stylistic devices, the sound effects, emotive and symbolic passages, ironical and allusive statements and the tonal meaning not excluding the cultural incompatibility.

One may circumvent the toughness of the task by turning poetry into prose. A prose rendering may even be fairly elegant in language, avoiding the verbal antics that one ginds in verse translations. But prose rendition turns out to be less respectable and prose is unable to direct the reader's attention towards certain words the way poetry can.[1] However much the job is done faithfully in prose, it amounts to a betrayal of the poem. The precision, compactness, vigour and harmony of verse cannot adequately be accommodated in prose. The 'high seriousness' with which a poetical piece is associated with, will be totally lost if the rendition is made in prose, even if one is conscious to avoid verbosity. The prose-rendition of a poetical piece, shorn of its grace and elegance is bound to be an apology for poetry.

Poetry cannot be translated was almost a cliche begotten by the English Romantic poets. In Shelly's opinion, an attempt to transfuse the creations of a poet from one language into another is as wise to cast a violet into a crucible to discover the formal principle of its colour and odour.[2] Robert Frost is said to have echoed the same with a statement that what is left out in translation is true poetry.

Aestheticians like Robert Croce and Collingwood hold that the translation of poetry is empirically possible but logically impossible.[3] The form

and the meaning are so integrated that they are hardly translatable intact. Unlike the scientific translation that satisfies with the content, the translation of poetry claims a demand on form and structure too. Even Theodore Savory is skeptical in the efficacy of the translation of poetry. "The axiom that perfect translation is impossible must be conceded, with the limitation that it is true only of poetry".[4]

Ezra Pound speaks of three components of poetry. Poems that are easily translatable are classified as pharopoeia: Those that cannot be rendered, he categorises melopoeia. What he calls logopoeia indicates untranslatable items even though these could be paraphrased.

Much against a lot of obstacles and setbacks in rendering poetry into poetry, the stark fact remains that there has been innumerable poetical renderings in the ages past-much earlier than even the appearance of the theory of translation. Moreover, when the art of translation has become a fully recognised academic discipline nowadays, classifying problems and identifying solutions in the translation of poetry has become our prime concern.

Stylistic Constraints

Those that operate at the lexical and tonal levels are almost untranslatable. But these extrinsic items are congenital merits of any good poem.

Lexical: Passage that are rhythmical, alliterative and onomatopoeic prove to be major hurdles. Much of the euphony, rhythm, delicate nuances and emotive overtones which are the valuable properties of poetry cannot be brought into rendition and as a result, it may sound flat if not odd or unpoetic.

In a reputed Tamil ballad of the early 19th cent. a nice passage rhythmically portrays how the heroine is active in a popular pastime of hitting a minimum of two balls upwards with the palm of both of her hands. The success of this feminine game lies in not allowing the balls to fall down. One can imagine how the damsel must have been alert, active and swift in her action. In so doing, her profuse locks of hair get loosened, her bangles jingle, hips swaying and her pair of eyes roll around. All these are embedded with identical sound-effect in a picturesque quadruplet of highly allusive and mythological undertones.

Pongu Kananguzhai mandiya kendai purandu purandada
Kuzhal mangulil vandu kalandadhu kandu madan cilai vandoda
ini ingidhu kandula kenpadum enpadum enridai-tindada
malar-p-pankara mangai Vasantha Soundari Pandu payinrele[5]

After having attempted the rendition unsatisfactorily on many drafts, I finally settled down on the following which could however be considered an approximate semantic equivalent.

Eyes of fishes turn round and
round
beneath the lustrous and curly
hair of clouds
From where flew the bee and
also (the bee)
from the flowery bow of
cupid
While the slender waist began
swaying hither and thither

Thus has Vasanthasoundari, the lotus-like maiden played the ball.[6]

Please note that the lofty gait of the original is not found in the rendition.

Similar is the predicament in translating the puns, equivocations, idioms, mnemonic words and anything that is operative at the lexical level. The punning of Thomas Hood, the alliteration of Swinburne, the lilt of Ulalume, the jangle of the Bells, the rich orchestration of Edward Lear's Yonghi-Bonghi Bo defy translation,[7] as Shipley observes. Solution to these constraints lies not in total omission as novices in the art are apt to, but in transplating them with equivalents drawn from TL sources.

In Steiner's opinion, the transplantation is kept on par with original. "Modernized idioms and customs, new allusions to replace those lost or obscure, reshapings to suit contemporary taste are all original contributions"[8] which theorists like Denham have permitted the translator to adopt.

It is desirable that idioms mostly culture-bound are colloquial, slang and also of the native soil. They at times go out of fashion and confined to a social class as-*grind one's ax, on a shoe string*, etc.

Even in the use of proper names of persons and even of flora some early Tamil translators of Shakespeare like Pammal Sambanda Mudaliyar have not resorted to transplantation but Tamilized the English names by making them phonemically equivalent as follows.

Macbeth	- Makabadhi
Romeo	- Ramyan
Juliet	- Jolidhai
Cymbeline	- Cimmalanadhan[9]

Structural Constraints

Inordinate lengthy sentences that one encounters in classical poetry prove to be a hurdle. The Tamil poems of the Sangam Age (3rd Century A.D.) especially of *Ahananoor*, which the present writer renders into English has about twelve to twenty lines in one sentence. No less is the length of certain passages in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Vide Book I where the introductory sentences contains sixteen lines. Total transmission with the original structure intact into the TL is an uphill task besides being hazardous. Splitting of the sentence seems to be the only solution. The resultant effect may at times be a slight verbiage but this is avoidable if one does the splitting very carefully.

Cultural Inhibitions

Coarse and vulgar jokes, obscene references, *double entendre* expressions may raise moral problems among the readers of the TL. They pose problems of cultural incompatibility. If the obscene word is a pun, the translator may seize the plain meaning only, keeping the readers in ignorance from the hidden meaning. But still if any passage defies toning down or mitigating the effect of vulgarity, outright omission is the only solution. In Merchant of Venice, V-I-260, Nerissa speaks as follows.

> 'And pardon me, my gentle
> Gratiano,
> For that same scrubbed boy
> the doctor's clerk
> In like of this, last night did
> lie
> with me'[10]

Even a low-bred woman character would never speak like this in India. Enobarbus sarcastically remarks or Antony and Cleopatra. He ploughed her and she reaps'. Is there a way out for passages like these, other than outright omission, even though omission has to be sparingly applied/ One should not resort to omission unless there is no other alternative.

Semantic Problems

Statements that are rich in allusions, historical, classical or topical defy renditions unless a lengthy footnote is appended to. 'They were the Iasons who won the golden fleece'[11] as in *Merchant of Venice* could be cited as problematic.

Parallel allusions, if any in the TL may be applied in lieu of the untranslatable originals. Resorting to footnote should be out of a sheer necessity for the recurrent use of it may mar the readability of the running matter. In other words, frequency of footnotes will bog down the rendition.

If a passage does not make the target audience understand its meaning the translator is at liberty to go in for what Aurobindo Calls, 'a transmogrification' though it is a 'mighty criminality[12] which one ought not to imitate. One justification is when the original was meant for pleasing its contemporaries, the translator should also be allowed to take liberties with the source even if it involves transmogrification.

> Let me have a loaf of fine
> wheaten flour
> A flagon of wine and a thigh
> of mutton
> And beside me, in the desolation, a comely youth
> This is happiness no Sultan's
> palace holds.
>
> -Omar Khayyam.

The very thought of munching on the thighs of mutton in the presence of comely youth may not gladden the feelings of Victorian public and hence the following version of the above poem in Rubbaiyat in the hands of Fitz Gerald.

A book of verses underneath a bough
A jug of wine, a loaf of bread and thou
Beside me singing in the wilderness
Ah, wilderness were paradise enow.

When this, in turn is rendered into Tamil, it has undergone once again a change in which the Tamil version glossed with still more purity devoid of the 'wine' and the tonal meaning of a lady of romantic songs. Kavimani Desiga vinayagam Pillai the Tamil poet has once again transmogrified it with a sense of piety as follows. This English version that closely follow the Tamil is mine.

"Shade there is, to drive the heat and the gentle
breeze to enjoy
There the verse of Kamban is and the goblet full
of ambrosia
Divine songs in plenty and thou here to meaningfully
sing
Is there a paradise other than this ever in the world'[13]

The gradul deviation or erosion in the substance of the original when it is rendered from one language into another is obvious and unavoidable.

Syrain writers' Association in Damascus attempted to bring out in 1988 a special issue of their Arabic magazine on Indian literature with a selection of short stories, poems and essays from Indian literature.[14] None of this was available in the library of the Indian Embassy at Damascus. Finally some writers who knew the Russion language collected these from various issues of certain Soviet magazines and than translated them into Arabic. These materials must have been translated from Hindi into English and then into Russian before the Syrians put them into Arabic. Translated four times, they could hardly have retained their original texture, nuance, atmosphere and even meaning.

At length it may be observed that it is appreciable, if one crosses over the hurdles and renders poetry into poetry; into prose is also not negligible for it somehow brings out substance of the original.

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THE SOCIO - ECONOMIC IDEAS OF BHARATHIDASAN

Dr. P. Rajaraman

Bharathi Dasan (Kanaga Subburathinam) a prince among the Tamil poets occupies a unique place in the history of Tamil literature. He is the leading light of the revivalist movement of the early decades of the present century. He richly deserves to be ranked with the English romantic poets like Wordsworth, Keats, Shelly and Byron as his poems and verses are replete with a variety of themes with refreshing originality-Nature, Love, Heroism and Social Reform. Linguistic, Affinity and Ethos of Dravidianism distinctly disclose that he was a fiery personality. It was his predelection that he quite often "unchained the tigers of emotions" to lay emphasis on his pet themes viz social reforms. That is why some of his verses are found in tempestuous diction. The very fact that he styled his name as the devoted discipline of Bharathi (Bharathi Dasan) suggests that he was a poet nurtured in the school of Bharathi. Like his mentor he had the audacity to swim against the traditional current of the society. Therefore some of his social themes are far in advance of his age. To Bharathi, a hard core nationlity, political freedom was more important than social liberty but to Bharathi Dasan, a rank revivalist "freedom from age-long social fetters of caste and superstition"[1] and economic strangles was the prime need. Despite his early leanings to Khadar movement, he turned out to be a champion of under dogs and a relentless crusader against the abominal evils of the society. It is imperative here to identify the formative forces which made Bharathi Dasan a social revolutionary in order to have a better understanding of his socio-economic ideas.

1. His birth place i.e., Pondicherry (a former French enclave)afforded him a conducive political environment for the development of secular, rational and anticaste sentiments.

2. His accessibility to the French literature particularly Rousseau's "Social contract", made him understand the ills of the Tamil Society in a better focus. There is no wonder that the watchwords of French Re-Evolution namely liberty, equality and fraternity captured his imagination. As a consequence social justice has become the centre of his songs.

Equally significant was the influence of Bharathi on him. In fact Bharathi was his friend, philosopher and guide. The poetic style that Bharathi Dasan adopted was the direct imitation of that of Bharathi. To begin with, Bharathi Dasan composed songs highlighting the necessity of winning India's freedom from British imperialism, perhaps due to the influence of Bharathi. Even his emergence as feminist in later days, it can be legitimately acknowledged, was the corollary of his proximity to his mentor (Bharathi) who considered woman "a new power" and "no more than the slave". This idea never fail to reverberate in many of his compositions.

A clear analysis of his poems reveals that he was profoundly fascinated by the revivalist movement of the early part of this century which aimed at returning to a former period of happiness and restoring a golden age. A comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages of Rev. Robert Caldwell, the translated works of G.U. Pope, the editing and publishing of the Sangam Classics due to the tireless endeavours of Arumugha Navalar, Damodaram Pilai and U.V. Swaminatha Iyer, the literary writings of P. Sundaram Pillai, the historical work of Kanagasabai Pillai, and the Lyrics of Bharathi-all collectively-contributed to the golden age theory that there had been to Tamils a hoary past with glory and grandeur. There was a strong belief among the 'emerging elite' that the Tamil Society had lost all its past glory and splendour because of the Brahmins. The availability of a large amount of literature of the Golden Age not only inculcated in them the Dravidian consciousness but also reinforced the doctrine of dual cultures-(Aryan and Dravidian) in the Hindu civilization. These theories which became popular afforded the Tamil non-Brahmins an identity and a sense of cultural self-confidence. A hymn of hate was sung against the Brahmins. They were blamed as strangers of the Tamil land and as the destroyers of the Dravidian civilization. Further they were also held responsible for the present deterioration of non-Brahmins.

The Dravidian ethos which found lofty expression in his writings, as Prema Nandakumar points out made him "appear to be a Tamil isolationist". If his verses are studied in the light of the political trend prevailed in those days the criticism of Prema Nandakumar will prove to be untenable. Bharathi, though "a Smartha Brahmin himself was against the orthodoxy of his caste". He never hesitated to condemn their so called spiritual superiority. In a letter writ-

ten to the editor of New India he pointed out the Brahmins of today did not deserve any claim for "spiritual superiority" and therefore they should "voluntarily relinguish all their old pretensions together with the silly and anti-national customs" Further Bharathi ridiculed in one of his poems the untruthful nature and avarice of Brahmins. Thus Bharathi, a revolutionary thinker and a poet never hesitated to condemn the hypocrisy of the Brahmins even at the risk of social ostracism.

5. Yet another influence to which Bharathi Dasan succumbed was the social reform movement spearheaded by St. Ramalinga Adigal. His writings and speeches served as catalytic agent even to E.V. Ramaswami Naicker who launched his Self Respect Movement to eradicate the pernicious ills of the Tamil Society such as caste and superstition. The Samarasa Suddha Sanmarka Sangam (the Association for Equality and the good way) established by him in 1886 A.D. stood for the lofty ideal of a harmonious community devoid of casteism. He condemned Varnashrama dharma and orthodox religion and he firmly believed that they could lead the people to "despair and delusion". It is sad to note that historians are reluctant to recognise the significance of the momentous awakening that his movement caused among the people of Tamil Nadu perhaps due to its localised nature. It is roughly estimated that the number of people who received the message of St. Ramalinga Adigal would definitely outnumber the combined strength of the social reform movements of northern India such as Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj. It is not a wonder that Bharathi Dasan, a person of compassionate heart, cme under the spell of the egalitarian philosophy of St. Ramalingar.

Lastly the self-Respect movement of E.V. Ramaswami Naicker was the most formidable influence which shaped his socio-economic thoughts. Scholars like T.P. Meenakshisundaram consider his vehemence of expression in certain pieces of his poetry was the inevitable result of his association with the movement.

1. A stout champion of the untouchables

The most dismal aspect of the varna system of the Hindu society is that the people who performed certain essential economic tasks in agriculture were considered as outcastes. They were described by various names such as Untouchables, Unapproachables, Depressed Classics, Adi-Dravidas, Panchamas and Scheduled Castes. The people of Depressed Classes were generally known as Pariahs in Tamil country, Pulaiyas in Malabar, and Malas and Madigas in Telugu regions.

It is apparently fanciful to note that the word Pariah is said to be derived from parai, a drum, an instrument which these people beat at festivals. Throughout the sub-continent they were derided as untouchables perhaps due to their misfortune to do certain essential works of unclean nature and were treated with great harshness.

Untouchability was equally bad in Tamilnadu. The Pariahs in Tamil-Nadu lived in separate places on the outskirts of the village called 'Paracheri'. Before the advent of the British rule, the whole of the Pariah community without exception were the slaves of the superior castes. The condition of Pariah resembled to a certain extent that of the serf of France and other countries of northern Europe in ancient times. These people together with their kith and kin bound themselves to the landlords for life. The village scavengers who were obliged to clean the public latrines, to sweep the streets and remove all rubbish invariably belonged to this class. These men were generally known as 'Thottis'. In addition to the dirty work of scavenging, they were employed in letting the water into the tanks and channels for irrigating the paddy fields, and on this account they were treated with some consideration by the rest of the villagers.

This pitiable plight of a bulky number of people created a stir in the lyrical mind of Bharathi Dasan. The outcome was the composition of a poem entitled *Thazhthappattor samattuvappattu* (The song of Equality of the Degraded) wherein he carried tirade against the Brahmins. They were the people who changed our lovely country into a place of gruesome murder. In order to get themselves elevated in social hierarchy they established their own laws which brought caste divisions into existence. (Verse 93 and 94). He had the grace to assert with the favour of a prophet in this composition that the untouchables were his own kith and in.

"All humans are the same race". Besides he had chosen to give a blatant illustration to emphasise the ideal of equality.

> The cow does not make with the
> water buffalos;
> therefore these are not one race
> But if a low caste man and a
> high
> caste woman make love,
> doesn't she become pregnant?
> Are they
> then two different species? (4)

In addition to this, Bharathi Dasan as a Self-Respect authored another pamphlet viz *Suyamariyathai Sudar* which was also used as an instrument to condemn *Varnashramadharma* and caste distinction, perhaps with stronger terms. As soon as these literatures published by one Noyal (a friend of Bharathi Dasan) the poet had to face the wrath and fury of both the reactionaries and the French government of Pondicherry (5) As a result,

as a Tamil teacher in government school, he was subjected to tyranny of transfer and also imprisonment on false cases. Hence forward he came to be considered as a stout champion of untouchables.

2. A renounced feminist

At the turn of this century, inspite of progressive legislations and Westernisation, the Tamil society remained essentially conservative which kept women in subjection. The disabilities that the womanfolk suffered were many. The bondage of woman was perpetual. It is truism that a woman before marriage was supposed to be under the care of her father, after marriage she had to be under the protection of her husband. In the event of the death of her husbnd she had to languish not only as a widow but also as a burden-some creature under the custody of her son. Marriage was never her choice. Child marrigae and dedication of girls to temples were the proverbial evils. Widow remarriage was one of the detestations. Even basic education was denied to girls in those days. In addition to this, she was subjugated to numberless taboos in the name of social restrictions. In short a woman was as dumb and docile creature satiating the sexual desires of man.

This miserable state of affairs was resented by the self- Respecters. As an ardent lover of Self-Respect Movement Bharathi Dasan did not mince words in condemning the discrimination shown to woman in the society. In fact he composed elegant poems on the necessity for giving woman absolute freedom. In a poem, entitled, *Kathalai Teertha Kattuppadu* (taboos that scorches the love) he questions.

> Is there any difference between the love
> that blossoms in men and women?
> Like a widowed Antril bird
> the old man goes in search of a girl to marry
>
> Is it harmful if young maiden who looks
> like unwithered flower remarried after
> the death of her husband?
> Have we ever seen dry breeze, unbuzzing
> bees and a healthy stomach without hunger.

In *Kaimaippazhi,* as a tenacious supporter of the cause of widow remarriage he implores "not to silt up widowhood in a heart where love springs and not to look into Sastras to get her united in a wedlock with a handsome lad."

Bharathi Dasan's mind was full of wonderful aspirations. One among them was the resurgence of Tamil society where woman should have an equal place with men and young girls should not be dedicated as dancing damsels to the temples. Besides he

has woven a lot of lyrics denouncing child marriage. In *Ayntu Par* he asks.

> How far is it right to kill a
>   child by
> performing an early marriage.

As Prema Nandakumar remarks, Bharathi Dasan's poems relating to women's uplift "have a continued relevance in an India that reels today under the worst kinds of discrimination against women" (6) His romantic poem, *Puratchikkavi* the story of which is said to have been of a Sanskrit poet Bilhana is an excellent saga of love where neither caste nor status serves as an obstacle to prevent lovers from getting themselves married. Prof.T.P. Meenakshiundaran is of opinion that this poem has given him the title of *Puratchikkavi* a poet of revolution.

3. A Celebrated Labourite

The trumpet call of Karl Marx to the workers of the world to get themselves united has allured the imaginative mind of Bharathi Dasan. If at all a theme runs throughout his work it is the subject of the welfare of proletariats. It is his established conviction that the modern civilization is the creation of labourers, whether it is a huge hydro-electric project or a beautiful park. In his poem, *Puratchikkavi* the poet asks with all inquisitiviness.

> Who built beautiful cities and
>   small villages
> In a waste land, infected with
>   lot of
> snakes, wild beasts and tall trees
> Where a brook streamed
> Whose breathe was hold up to
>   bring out
> gold pieces, pearls & precious
>   stones.

A cluster of poems he has written espousing the cause of the labourers. In fact labour is a pet theme for him. He sets out a scene of rustic life in his verse, *Uzhathi*, wherein an agricultural labourer has been made a romantic figure. At times his poetic imagination runs extravagant in portraying the life style of either a basket weaver or a woodcutter or a steel worker but with of course beauty extolling the dignity of labour (7). An excellent piece of poetry, entitled Thozhilalar Vinnappam (The labourer's request) enumerates the list of works that labourers had done but at the end of it, Bharathi Dasan speaks in Shellyian voice. "We, the labourers are many. Let us not be treated as slaves. Hand over your property (which was the fruit of our labour) to us before our blood boils". His *Ulakkappan Pattu* (Ulakappan's song) clearly tells us how Bharathi Dasan has been captivated by the doctrines of communism. "The rich becomes richer but the poor suffers like a worn". It is the belief of Bharathi Dasan that "if the poor started to revolt the power of the rich would crumble and the begging bowl of the poor would disappear in a mo-

ment and all would become equals". These ideas were later propagated by the self-respecters to bring forth a social change in Tamilnadu. Thus the lyrics of Bharathi Dasan are not mere blank verses but they are the winged words carrying a message to the people of every nook and corner.

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200 Years of Good Consul

by BRIAN CROCE AGGELER

It is 200 years since the United States posted Benjamin Joy to Calcutta as its first "consular" officer in India. The fact that the British refused to accredit him as a consul is just one of the many stories that pepper the early history of American consuls in India.

Consular officers of the United States have played an essential role in facilitating relations between India and America for 200 years ---ever since the U.S. consular service was established by an act of Congress in 1792.

The role of U.S. consuls has, of course, changed considerably since the early days, when they existed primarily to assist stranded sailors and support American maritime commerce and when consuls engaged in diverse outside interests--even including, in one case, serving as mayor of Madras. Today, consular offices in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and New Delhi handle a wide range of functions. Among their many duties are:

* Issuance of immigrant visas to Indians planning to resettle in the United States or join relatives already living there.

* Issuance of nonimmigrant visas to Indian tourists, businessmen, students, and professionals.

* Promotion of commercial ties between Indian and U.S. businesses, organization of trade shows and exhibits, and provision of reference services to business people.

* Performance of a variety of communications, documentary, legal, and personal services to American citizens traveling or residing in India.

Beginnings

From its earliest days, the United States has taken an interest in India. In 1777, a year after the declaration of Independence, a member of the American Continental Congress stated: " It is reported that the East Indians have risen upon their oppressors [Great Britain], and taken Madras. This is all good news."

America's early consular relations with India were, however, the result less of such righteous sentiments than of the extensive maritime trade between America and colonial India. Americans first made contact with India in 1786, when the Chesapeake sailed up the "Hoogli" River into the port of Calcutta. By the following year, four Massachusetts ships were trading in Bombay, Surat,

and Calcutta. Trade grew rapidly: As an official of the East India Company in Calcutta observed in 1818, the power and resources of the United States had been "hitherto nurtured in the Indian seas."

Upon gaining independence in 1776, the fledgling American republic established a variety of consular-type relations with foreign countries and territories. However, it was not until 1790 that President George Washington urged the U.S. Congress to institutionalize an official consular service: "The patronage of our commerce, of our merchants and seamen, has called for the appointment of consuls in foreign countries. It seems expedient, to regulate by law, the exercise of that jurisdiction, and those functions which are permitted them, either by express convention, or by a friendly indulgence, in the places of their residence."

Benjamin Joy--Consul or Commercial Agent?

On April 14, 1792, Congress created the consular service. In the same year, President Washington appointed Benjamin Joy-- a businessman from Newburyport and Boston with years of successful experience in the India trade--to be consul at Calcutta "and other ports and places on the coast of India and Asia."

Diplomatic accreditation was generally slower and more problematic in those days than today. Two years after his appointment as consul, Joy was informed that "the Governor-General, having no instructions from England, does not think himself at liberty to admit you in the public character of a consul entitled to privilege: but you may reside here as a commercial agent, subject to the civil and criminal jurisdiction of this country."

Joy's reception was probably not made warmer by the fact that the Governor-General in Calcutta at the time of his appointment had been none other than Lord Charles Cornwallis, commander of the British forces that had been forced to surrender to the Americans at the end of their War of Independence a dozen years earlier. However, throughout the 18th and much of the 19th century. English authorities in India--anxious to prevent "direct intercourse of Indians with other countries" -- as a matter of course refused to permit any foreign country to open consulates in India.

As far as East India Company officials were concerned, then, Joy was an ordinary businessman. But with France and Britain vying for naval superiority around the globe, U.S. Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson instructed Joy: "As a general war appears to be gathering in Europe, I have to desire your utmost vigilance in protecting our vessels in the rights of neutrality and in preventing the usurpation of our flag by the vessels of other nations."

Joy soon had cause to act on Jefferson's instructions. In 1794 two ships of U.S. registry. *America and Enterprise*, and their crews were captured by the commander of the Bengal squadron and charged with carrying enemy goods. Joy interceded on their behalf, and East India Company officials accepted Joy in his "capacity of agent for the United States of America." The case went to the Supreme Court of Judicature, which found the vessels not guilty. Both vessels were released and awarded damages for their unjustified detention.

Joy left Calcutta because of ill health in 1795 and transmitted his resignation from Boston the next year. He was succeeded by W.J. Miller, a successful businessman in Calcutta. Joy protested the choice vigorously on the grounds that Miller was not an American but a Scot who had not yet been naturalized! When asked to acknowledge Miller's commission as consul, the Governor-General of Calcutta responded with "the same answer, as we gave to similar application from Mr. Joy."

Jefferson, now President, next appointed Jacob Lewis of Massachusetts as consul in Calcutta in 1801, but there is no record that Lewis ever reached his post. For some 40 years, there was no U.S. consul in Calcutta. So forgotten were Joy and Miller that when James P. Higginson received his commission at Calcutta in 1843, he mistakenly observed: "There has never been an American consul here before."

William Abbott, Consul and Mayor of Madras

Benjamin Joy believed it important also to have consular agents at Madras and Bombay "where many American ships go." On November 24, 1794, he informed the U.S. Department of State that he had appointed a consular agent at Madras, one William Abbott, whom he described as "Secretary to the Nabob of Arcot." Abbott had also spent several years as an agent to a building contractor, then as an agent to the proprietors of the weekly newspaper, *Madras Courier*.

Abbott's duties as consul did not seem to have distracted him from his varied commercial ventures. In 1798, he was Deputy Master Attendant, one of whose responsibilities was to supply water to ships calling at Madras port. Subsequently, he set up a company called Abbott & Maitland in Madras. He was a creditor to his old employer, the Nawab of Arcot, who had borrowed huge sums of money from various people (Ultimately, the East India Company undertook to clear the Nawab's debts).

Abbott was active in local politics as well, being appointed one of nine aldermen of "Madraspatnam" between 1793 and 1798. His career ran into a temporary hitch when, on December 8, 1797, he and his family were asked to leave India for alleged-

ly having shown disrespect to the government. He tendered an apology, and the order was withdrawn. The following year Abbott became the mayor of Madras!

As for Bombay, the United States appointed Philemon S.Parker consul in 1838. Parker arrived at his post in August 1839, but, predictably, the governor would not recognize him as a consul, and only gave him permission to act as a commercial agent. Parker wrote to the Department of State in Washington that his consular status was being denied because Bombay was a military center and the British feared " a precedent that might lead to similar applications from other nations." There were no other consuls in Bombay at the time.

British difficulties with its China trade led to a slump in American trade with India. In 1840, when it had declined to the point that only five or six American ships came to Bombay each year, Parker wrote to the State Department that "without any business whatever to detain me," he was leaving his post. Parker's successor, E.A. Webster, remained only a brief time, departing in 1842 under charges of dishonest conduct, and for ten years the United States was without a consul in Bombay.

Only in 1852 did the British government recognize Edward Ely as the first U.S. consul in Bombay. But Ely, unhappy with his low pay, departed a few weeks after his arrival, leaving an Indian, Dassabhoy Merwanjee, in charge as vice consul. In 1854, the pay was improved, and Ely went back to work.

Consuls on Commission

Extensive outside business interests, such as Consul William Abbott's in Madras, were the rule rather than the exception in the early years of the American republic. American consuls of the 18th and 19th centuries were not paid regular salaries but rather received commissions out of the fees they charged for the services they performed.

It is ironic that the first U.S. Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson--a man who, when negotiating for a consular convention with France, had remarked on "the absolute inutility of Consuls" ---presided over the rapid expansion of the American consular service throughout the world. However, the early U.S. administrations did not attempt to make the consular service into a professional body with salaries, post rotation, or promotions. They instead followed the European practice of enlisting the services of expatriate businessmen, preferably Americans but about half the time not.

Jefferson was strongly against salaries for consuls, writing to the U.S. consul in Santo Domingo: "these appointments are given to gentlemen who are satisfied to perform their duties in consideration of the respect

and accidental advantages they may derive from them."

Working on commission was not a problem for consuls like Joy or Abbott, who had thriving businesses on the side. But when trade between India and the United States declined, some consuls had a difficult time making ends meet. E.A. Webster's appointed successor as consul in Bombay had no money to pay for passage to Bomaby, received none from the U.S. government, and so refused to take up his position. Another consuldesignate to Bombay simply never showed up in India. Still another, claiming it was impossible to live on the $200 in fees he collected each year as a commercial agent, in 1850 went to work for the East India Company at $5,800 per year.

A study made by Secretary of State Martin Van Buren in 1830 concluded that "the compensation was so low as to make it impossible for officers to maintain the social standing and influence which their positions demanded." In 1856, the U.S. Congress passed a bill that, for the first time, provided salaries to consular officials.

But some consuls still had to live on the fees they collected. In 1897, Samuel Comfort, the consul at Bombay, addressed the following plaintive statement to Assistant Secretary of State John Sherman: "Many American tourists come here and the consul is called upon to carry on an extensive correspondence with American houses in reference to Indian business, as well as with individuals on many subjects, all of which take up much valuable time . . . the consul receives only fees which, within the time of my knowledge of the office -- nearly four years past--- have never amounted to an aggregate of $500 in any year. If all Indian goods that go from Bombay to the United States were shipped there direct, the fees would be much larger than they are. But, as a matter of fact, much merchandise intended for America is shipped from Bombay to England and the continent of Europe, and thence reshipped to destination, which has the effect of very much reducing the amount of fees collected at this office." Two years later, the consul in Bombay finally began receiving an annual salary.

It was only in 1924 that a career American Foreign Service was established, with officers trained for and subject to assignment anywhere in the world. Thenceforth, consular duties were entrusted to full-time professional foreign service officers.

Consular Roles Yesterday and Today

The early American consuls in India were the eyes and ears of their country in a land most Americans had never seen. As such, they contributed to the popular American view of India. Charles Huffnagle, who was consul and the consul-general in

Calcutta from 1847 to 1857, imported the first Brahman cattle to America in the days before the expression "sacred cow" entered the English idiom, while Henry Ballantine, consul in Bombay from 1890 to 1893, promoted American fairs as a sideline and brought into the United States the first Indian jugglers, swamis, and princes, complete with jewels and carpets.

Through their contacts with local people, the consuls also raised Indian awareness of the United States to such an extent that when the American Civil War broke out in 1861, "Hindustanis" were said to sympathize strongly with the Union cause. Indeed, the Parsis and Hindus of Bombay contributed half the money needed to finance a hospital to treat wounded Civil War soldiers of the Union.

At the same time, consuls tracked developments in India of commercial significance to American traders. In 1841, E.A. Webster reported that the East India Company was trying to introduce American cotton seeds and machinery into India and was attempting to recruit Americans for this purpose.

Most of the official consular duties listed in the 1792 act of Congress related to the representation and protection of American shipping interests and American seamen. Indeed, Jefferson had even given consuls permission to wear the naval uniform. A further indication of this emphasis is the fact that the United States did not open a consulate in landlocked Delhi until 1942, even though the capital of India had been moved there decades earlier.

The 1792 act authorized consuls to provide for the care of Americans in India who experienced shipwreck, disease, or imprisonment, at a rate not to exceed 12 cents a day. U.S. consuls are still required to look after the interests of American citizens in foreign countries. Today, of course, a consular officer is authorized to spend somewhat more than 12 cents a day on behalf of an American traveler encountering an emergency!

When consular officials assist Americans facing legal charges in India or in other countries, they are still guided by the advice of Jefferson: "It will be best not to fatigue the government in which you reside, or those in authority under it, with applications in unimportant cases. Husband their good dispositions for occasions of some moment, and let all representations to them be couched in the most temperate and friendly terms, never indulging in any case whatever, a single expression which may irritate."

In modern times, it is visas that command the most attention from U.S. consular officials in India, as in numerous other countries. In fiscal year 1990, for example, the U.S. Embassy and consulates in India issued more than 23,000 immigrant and 128,000 nonimmigrant visas. Long

queues outside the consulates reflect the increasing interest of Indian students, business people, and tourists in visiting the United States.

Although the visa function per se did not exist when the U.S. consular service was founded., it is a logical extension of the consuls' evolving role in 200 years of facilitating the ever-growing links between the United States and India.

India's New Ambassador

Siddhartha Shankar Ray, India's new ambassador to the United States, presented his credentials to President George Bush at a White House ceremony on November 19. Following are excerpts from the texts of their statements on the occasion.

Ambassador Ray

It is a privilege for me to assume my functions at a time when major opportunities are opening up for developing Indo-U.S. relations.

Economic reforms in India have an important bearing on our bilateral relations. The United States has been India's largest trading partner for some time now, but today it has become the single largest investor in our country. We appreciate the support of the United States both bilaterally and within multilateral organizations for the restructuring of the Indian economy that is under way.

We value the growing exchanges between our defense establishments [which] reflect a shared interest in conducting a new dialogue on the issues and opportunities thrown up by the end of the Cold War. Symbolic of the new convergence in thinking and perceptions of our two countries was the first ever joint naval exercise by the Indian and U.S. navies off the Indian coast in May 1992. Another important item on the calendar is the Pacific Area Management Seminar scheduled to be held in New Delhi in January 1993, which will be jointly hosted by the Indian and U.S. armies.

We share the United States' nuclear proliferation concerns and are willing to engage in a bilateral dialogue with you on how the goal of nonproliferation can be advanced while taking into account our legitimate security interests.

Our two democracies have one vital thing in common: Respect for freedom and the inalienable rights of the individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Despite numerous difficulties India has not wavered from its democratic commitment. Unfortunately, terrorism has raised its ugly head in some of our border states. The Indian State is obliged to combat it, in full recognition of the fact that laws have to be obeyed and human rights of all protected. As part of our commitment to human rights we have decided to set up a National Human Rights Commission.

A growing link in our relations is the sizable community of Americans of Indian origin who are maintaining vibrant cultural, scientific, and economic links with India as they contribute to and become part of the American success story.

We think Today, not of Yesterday, but of Tomorrow and the program for Tomorrow, indeed its very vision, must include as one of its integral parts the United States of America and India working together in the closest possible understanding, friendship, and amity.

President Bush

I am sure you will soon feel at home here. You will find, if you have not already done so, that we Americans cherish and practice many of the same fundamental values held dear by the people of India. Both our countries were founded on the strong belief that power resides in the people and that government is the servant of the people.

The end of the Cold War gives us a special opportunity [for] the promotion of peace and security in the world. For our part, we are working hard with Russia, our former adversary, to build a new relationship based on trust and conciliation rather than confrontation. Your government has also taken steps to reduce regional tensions. We applaud your progress so far, but urge you to redouble your efforts to fully realize peace and security in South Asia. In particular, I encourage you to look seriously at ways to affiliate yourself with the various nonproliferation agreements that have won near universal acceptance.

New opportunities for expanded cooperation between our two countries are evident in the economic field where Prime Minister Rao has taken bold new steps to reform the Indian economy. I am sure that, as economic liberalization measures take root, American firms will look increasingly at India . . . as an excellent place to invest and trade.

For over 200 years, and especially since your independence in 1947, the American and Indian people have built a vast web of private and public contacts that promote mutual understanding and strengthen our friendship. Scientific, technical, cultural, and educational exchanges have been extensive, and we must ensure that they continue and flourish. There are well over a million persons of Indian origin . . . living and working permanently in the United States. Their presence here underlines the increasingly close ties between our two peoples.

Courtesy : Span,
December 1992.

Review

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Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society,
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